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The Exploration of Tibet

History and Particulars

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By

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Preface

THE present work, commenced more than six years ago, had been put away for months together more than once. But when the British Commission to Kamba Jong was despatched into Tibet last year, it seemed time to resume our design in earnest and push forward the work to completion. The main purpose has been to thread together the various attempts to penetrate this isolated realm from the first beginnings down to the latest exploration. We have endeavoured to be scrupulously accurate in geographical detail and yet as graphic as possible. Chronological order has been strictly observed ; as our narrative is a chain of lives laid down as well as a history. Neither the romance nor the revelation is ended yet, which makes the story all the more fascinating.

In these pages it has been made a principle to allow chief room to those narratives of travel which are least accessible to the general public or at any rate the least known. Considerable space has been assigned to the annals of the Capuchin Missions of the 18th century ; and our account is, we claim, the only full and accurate one yet put forth. The detailed and curious narrative of the journey to Lhása, and residence there, of one of these missionaries, Cassiano

Beligatti da Macerata, now appears in English for the first time. This important recital, discovered recently in manuscript in a provincial library in Italy, was issued two years ago in an Italian scientific periodical. Another relation of Tibetan adventure, now first given in English dress, is that of the remarkable expedition and tragical death of the French traveller Mons. Dutreuil de Rhins.

The large map of Tibet has been specially compiled to include the latest-ascertained details. Our plan of Lhása embodies the result of discussions with, and enquiries from, actual denizens of the Tibetan capital, who visited Darjeeling while the author was resident there.

In the last chapter of this work will be found a full account of the present and recent "Missions" to Tibet. For this we have drawn largely from the Parliamentary Blue Book issued last February.

CUTTACK, ORISSA,
April, 1904.

GRAHAM SANDBERG

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INTRODUCTION.

I.—GEOGRAPHICAL STANDPOINT.

THE vast territory comprised under the designation "Tibet," in area some 600,000 square miles, extending through 22 degrees of longitude and occupying from north to south on an average some 6 degrees of latitude, has only within the last 35 years been brought under the domain of definite geographical knowledge. A few isolated attempts to ascertain its physical features had been made from time to time during the preceding years ; but systematic exploration and the assimilation of the facts discovered throughout the entire territory belong to the present generation. The gradual elucidation of the geography and physiography of this unknown and forbidden region, under unexampled difficulties both natural and political, forms an interesting and even bewitching story. Tibet once so mysterious in all its characteristics is being rapidly unravelled. Much has been revealed, though exploration and travel have still a good deal of work yet to do in a land from which we are still in a large measure shut out.

We should like to summarise what remains to be done in the way of discovery and exploration in the country under review. First and foremost, Lhása,

the capital of Tibet, Shigatse, the capital of the province of Tsang, Tsethang, Chhamdo, and all other of the larger towns (excepting three or four in East Tibet) are not known to have been visited by any European now living. The same may be said of the whole of the two great Central Provinces of Ui and Tsang, as well as of the major portion of Western Tibet. The mountainous districts of Tibet lying along the Nepalese frontier, including the whole of Purang and, further east, that complex region where stand most of the highest peaks of the Himalayas, are wholly unknown, the peaks being merely marked in our maps from observations taken far to the south in the Indian plains. It is in these secret recesses of the Tibeto-Nepalese borderland that the Kosi River and the Gandaks are first bred; but our only knowledge of their sources is derived from certain meagre details reported by one exploring agent of the Survey of India who endeavoured to enter Tibet by way of Kirong.

Nearly all orographical features of Central Tibet and of Western Tibet appearing in maps have been laid down but tentatively. North-east of the Manasarowar lakes is a *terra incognita* of Western Tibet. The Littledales and Sven Hedin have skirted its northernmost line and did what they could in their respective forced rushes towards Ladak. The hurried observations along the tracks followed are most valuable; but speculation has had to do the rest.

In the northern districts of Eastern Tibet important ranges, such as the Amye-surgu, Burhan-Bota, Kōkō-

shili and the great Dang-la line, have been frequently crossed by European travellers in recent years. The sum of their different observations as to position and altitude has been helpful in locating the run of those mountains within a limited space ; but no west-to-east traverse has yet been undertaken in these regions. Further to the North-West, the late Major M. S. Wellby, has, however, properly surveyed and mapped considerable lengths of the ranges just south of the Altan Tag (including the Marco Polo mountains of Przhevalsky). His work, moreover, has been supplemented and checked by Dr. Sven Hedin. As to the ranges and ganglia of many mountains lying in Eastern Tibet much further South, those of Kongpo, Takpo, Tsari, and of that mountain-locked country about the head-waters of the mysterious Subansiri river—these are not even pretended to be known, and our speculative orographists hardly attempt any suppositious adjustments of them in the maps.

Passing to the great rivers of Tibet—all of which, as we know, ultimately make their way into southern or eastern seas after runs of from 400 to 2,300 miles—there is only one which has been investigated in any detailed manner. This river is the one which occupied the theorists so long—the Yeru Tsangpo or Brahmaputra. Much of its course, nevertheless, has been only once traversed and but scantily reported upon ; also a length of some 150 miles in Western Tibet (between long. $85^{\circ} 15'$ and $87^{\circ} 30'$ E.) has not been followed even by a survey pandit ; while the latter portion of

its eastern run before it enters Assam is, of course, likewise undetermined. The sources of the Yeru Tsangpo have not been visited as yet, though they have been pretty-accurately located ; but then the sources of the shortest great river rising in and flowing out of Tibet, the Sutlej, are not to this day absolutely known. Furthermore, it is still a subject of mystery and speculation where so familiar a river as the Indus actually takes rise. The origin of one branch is comparatively plain—it lies to the N.-W. of Kailas and flows past Gart'ok. However, the sources of the eastern branch of the Indus remain unvisited. We have not yet seen a good diagnosis of their approximate situation in any authoritative article. Nevertheless, examining a certain old report or diary of a native explorer, we noted that he approached these eastern sources, though he did not positively reach them ; but he gives the important information that they lie not far from Mariam La, in streams varying in situation and from 10 to 20 miles N.-E. of that Pass, in a range styled Gangri Gurgyab.

The sources and short course of the Tibetan portion of the Hoang-Ho are now thoroughly well-ascertained from the explorations of Rockhill, the Pandit A. K. and Przhevalsky. But who can speak of the early waters of the great Di Chhu which develops into the Yangtse Kiang? The late Major Wellby traced only a few miles of the early run of the northernmost branch of the Di-chhu ; while the course of this river which traverses Tibet for at least 300 miles cannot be laid down

save by guess for a length of 50 miles together. Again, Dutreuil de Rhins and his fellow-traveller Mons. Grenard believed (on not absolutely incontestable evidence) that they had isolated the point of earliest origin of the Dza Chhu or Chhamdo Chhu which ultimates as the Mekhong ; but its subsequent course, at least that portion to the N.-W. of Chhamdo and again further S.-E., has yet to be located. Kozlov's observations during his journey of 1901 are too defective to elucidate that part of the basin of the Dza Chhu which he crossed N.-E. of Chhamdo. The last of these mighty south-eastern-flowing rivers, the Gya-ma Ngul Chhu, which in Burmah becomes the Salwin, is probably less known than any of the others. Its earliest portion is thought by some to be the Ngag Chhu, which may possibly have one source in Tengri Nor. The Ngag Chhu was indeed crossed by Fathers Huc and Gabet at the village of Ngakchhukha which Huo styles Naptchu ; but the latter learnt it was the upper course of the Mekhong. It is therefore still a problem where each of the two great rivers of S.-E. Asia takes rise. Further east, the Sok Chhu and the Ur Chhu are known to be large affluents of the Gya-ma Ngul Chhu or Salwin. However, the courses of all these rivers have yet to be traced and differentiated ; and such questions offer plenteous work to be undertaken by the explorer of the future for their solution.

Lhása, the capital of Tibet in the 18th century, was for 38 years (with one lengthy interval of 7 years) the home of various European missionaries of the

Capuchin Order ; and at one time, namely, in 1741-42, no fewer than 7 Italian friars were dwelling together in the city. Since the sojourn of 6 weeks of Messrs. Huc and Gabet in 1846 it is believed no European has set foot in the place or been within 100 miles of it. Nevertheless, from the secret visits of several trained native explorers (as detailed in the following pages) and from other sources, the capital of Tibet is well-known to experts on paper—its streets, its public buildings, its market-places, even its eating-houses, can be nearly all set down in the plan of the city drawn up from the reports and measurements of those visitors and others. It would seem, however, that some doubt must now be thrown on the assertion that Lhása still remains unvisited by any European now living. Otherwise what is to be said of the subjoined remarks reported to have been made at a public meeting of the Central Asian Society, Albemarle Street, on February 11th 1903 ? We quote from the *Morning Post* :—

Mr. JOHN HUME stated that a young Italian in his employment had penetrated to Lhassa, and had done some trade there. He travelled with only two horses, and he believed, that if people went in that way and not with large caravans, and behaved with civility to the people, they would not find much difficulty in getting as far as the capital. The young man he referred to had met Lord Curzon at Darjeeling, and had been encouraged by him to prosecute his journey. He had promised to report direct to Lord Curzon.

So far as we are aware, nothing further has appeared in the public press on the subject of this visit.

II.—POLITICAL STANDPOINT.

We must next refer to another matter of interest logically connected with the subject of the exploration of Tibet.

There can be little doubt that we have really reached the eve of the long-talked-of opening of Tibet to outside intercourse. The burning question, however, is—under whose influence and auspices shall it be opened? England and Russia have been long competing more or less for the honour and profit of such patronage; the former country, as is her custom, hesitatingly and with divided home counsels, the latter determinedly but, being naturally a professional trickster, half-concealing half-revealing her cards. If Lord Curzon and the Indian Government are allowed unfettered action by the Home Authorities, probably we shall be the winners, as we might have been years ago. Russia has been long at work and has already fastened two of her tentacles upon the people of the land—trade and her mystical sort of prestige—but her suckers are in action very far from the nerve centres and can yet with an effort be wrenched off from her prey. Our Indian territory and Tibet lie cheek to cheek for a length of five or six hundred miles. Most of our great northern military stations in India are only from 100 to 200 miles in direct distance from the Tibetan border. Our populous and accessible hill-station of Darjeeling is situated only 333 miles by a well-trodden trade-track from Lhása itself. Calcutta is 358 miles by rail from Darjeeling; so that

the latter place is positively nearer to Lhása, the capital of Tibet, than it is to Calcutta, a journey which the daily passenger train performs in 20½ hours !

IS IT WORTH WHILE ?

Until the advent of Lord Curzon the hereditary tradition of the Government of India was that Tibet was a nonentity not worth reckoning with and an understanding with her rulers and people of little or no consequence. Sir Alfred Lyall and others, happily now chewing the cud in the rickyard at home, who were fed on these views when in India, still obstinately breathe them forth in the columns of *The Times* and at Central Asian meetings whenever the question periodically arises. The real importance of a settlement of a binding character with the Tibetan authorities is, however, being more fully recognized under the present *régime*.

Hitherto political attention has been concentrated on Afghanistan, as if the Afghan Passes formed the only roadways from the north into India. We have spent all our energies, our money, men, and diplomacy in conciliating the Amir, when in Tibet there existed a much more important neighbour to look after and to come to terms with. If it is Russia that has made us so careful in the matter of Afghanistan ; how about the feasibility of Russian troops being poured into Northern India by way of Tibet ? Not reckoning in the Tibeto-Nepalese frontier (though for all the barrier Nepal would be under such circumstances it might

well be counted), there are along the northern borders of our Indian territory lengths whereby that territory would prove easily accessible, equivalent to 600 miles. All this lies practically open and unprotected, to be availed of by any determined foe from the north. Numerous, indeed, are the Passes from Tibet over the Himalayas all along the Indian frontier. Once established at Lhása on cordial terms with the Tibetan authorities there, an approaching force could choose its own Pass of entry into India or, better still, come over by half-a-dozen Passes deployed simultaneously: There are three good Passes into Ladak ; two into Lahoul ; the Shipki Pass direct down to our northern capital of Simla ; several easy Passes such as the Mang-shang, Langpya, and Lipu-lek, into Kumaon and Garhwal ; with many other facile gates of admission in Sikkim, Bhutan, and Assam—one, particularly adapted for secret yet most easy entrance by way of the Tawang Raj, on the eastern side of Bhutan.

We have styled, a few lines back, Tibet a more important neighbour than Afghanistan with whom to make terms, and this for a particular reason. The Afghans are a brave and warlike race with a will and views of their own which would have to be reckoned with. On the other hand the Tibetans are a weak and cowardly people, their very pusillanimity rendering them readily submissive to any powerful military authority who entering their country should forthwith give them a sharp lesson and a wholesome dread of offending. It was the lenient and half-magnanimous

fashion in which the English closed up affairs and withdrew after the desultory warfare with the Tibetans in Sikkim in 1893-94 which gave the latter false notions of our power and resources. A tailor from Lhása informed the writer of these pages that in Tibet it was always said that the English withdrew because they grew afraid that the Chinese would send troops to assist the Tibetans and that the Russians were not afraid of the Chinese like the English.

Should the Russians establish themselves at Lhása, after the first demur, the people would welcome a Russian protectorate. We have lost our opportunity of winning their respect and confidence more than once. With Russia paramount in the capital of Tibet, the numerous Passes over the Himalayas are as many doors openly inviting descent into the Indian plains—an invitation which it would be extremely hard to resist.

WHAT WE INDISPENSABLY REQUIRE.

We do not want to annex more territory or even to make the country tributary to British rule. What is urgently required is nothing of this sort, but only to come to a thorough understanding with the Tibetan authorities as to their relationship with Great Britain. Although Tibet touches British-governed territory at so many different points, it is a fact that the Indian Government is absolutely without any official relations with Tibet and without even any recognized method of communicating with the Tibetan authorities

either at Lhása or at Shigatse. Any communications or negotiation from the Viceroy to the Dalai Lama could not be despatched by a sure messenger or sent with any certainty of reaching its destination. Moreover, it would have to be conveyed over the frontier with the greatest secrecy lest it should be intercepted *en route*. And, if perchance it reached in such informal modes, it would not be read.

It is imperative, therefore, that official relations should be established with the Tibetan Government and that some recognized agent of the Government of India with right of access to the Dalai Lama or other Tibetan authority should be settled both in Lhása and in Shigatse. This is a first step to insist upon. With so many hundreds of miles of Indian frontier absolutely exposed to any power which shall succeed in installing itself in the place vacated by China in Tibet, we cannot afford to go on any longer in the dark. Some sure method of obtaining information on the attitude of Tibet must be inaugurated. The machinations of the Mongol agents of the Russian Government who journeyed to and from the capital of Tibet *via* Kathmandu and Darjeeling in 1900 and 1901 became at length known to the Indian Government, but only indirectly and incompletely. Such proceedings can no longer be permitted to continue.

Lord Curzon, the only Viceroy who has hitherto seen the importance of an understanding with Tibet, has at length secured a real opening into the mysteries of Tibetan politics by insisting on the despatch of the

present Expedition to Gyangtse. This place is a large town, garrisoned with 500 Chinese and Tibetan troops, situated on the river Nyang in a broad well-cultivated valley. It lies 130 miles north of the Jelep Pass out of Sikkim and is only 147 miles by road from Lhása. No European heretofore had been permitted to proceed even a few miles beyond the magic boundary of Sikkim (save in the case of the recent Commission to Kamba Jong). But now we have a body of British-directed troops 3,500 strong with many camp followers coolly marching into the very heart of the country! Its effect cannot help proving magical. Even China has never sent so large a force into the country. Tibetans will see more soldiers together than their wildest imaginations conceived a possible reality. Anything now can be ultimately arranged with the authorities that Colonel Younghusband Captain O'Connor and Mr. E. H. C. Walsh may be instructed to demand. Lord Curzon has done well to make a full display of our power.

The results of the Expedition may now probably far exceed the original intention when the Commission at Kamba Jong was planned. Then the Indian Government only claimed a re-adjustment of the frontier-line of Tibet and Sikkim and that the Treaty rights as to traders should be observed. Much more than such small points will now have to be discussed; and it is to be hoped that the heads of the Expedition have authority to exact from the Lhása Government the undoubted right of our Government to regular

official relationship with the Dalai Lama, together with an accredited agent in his capital. These are the points we have set down above as a first step to be insisted upon.

Nevertheless, so much is but a first though a great step towards the insurance of safety along the Himalayan boundaries of Hindustan. It can be and ought to be followed thereafter by more stringent bonds of political understanding and even union. We repeat, no territorial accession in Tibet (however desirable in the interests of that country itself) is required by the British Crown; but an alliance must be formed between the Tibetans and the Indian authorities which shall prevent so close a neighbour as Tibet passing under the dominion or even under the influence of any other great Power. The lamas, whose hereditary suspicion of British intentions was first bred under Chinese tutelage and has since been kept up through both Chinese and Russian agency, must be made to see either by conciliation or, if that fails, by force, that they have nothing but prosperity to expect from such an alliance. However, we shall do well to make it plain that no playing fast or loose with our friendship will answer here. Accordingly, mere promises and assertions on their side can never be sufficient. A bond with substantial guarantee of its integrity and certain punishment for any rupture would probably be devisable so as to make the proposed union a cemented and permanent one. England will find, moreover, that the Tibetans are a very different race to manage than the

Afghans. We believe they are naturally peace-loving, and their confidence could easily be won. The development of the natural resources of the country—rich as it is in gold and wool and borax—under British auspices and assistance would, besides, forge a clasp to the bond in the shape of self-interest.

NOTE.

THIS introduction was in type before the Tibetans had surprised us all by their fighting qualities. Could it be re-written, we should not apply to them the words “cowardly” and “pusillanimity” on page 9, but argue rather from their want of discipline and military inexperience instead.

THE EXPLORATION OF TIBET; *ITS HISTORY AND PARTICULARS*

from 1623 to 1904.

CHAPTER I.

THE MEDIÆVAL TRAVELLERS WHO DID NOT ENTER TIBET—THE TRAVELLERS IN TIBET OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THOSE, who from the outer world have gained entrance to Tibet and made real journeys in the country, still form a select and notable body of men. The physical difficulties of the adventure were at one time the main obstacle offered to the traveller; but to these during the last hundred years have been super-added the political opposition against any admission of Europeans. The last as well as the first Englishman to reach Lhása was Thomas Manning in 1811-12 (that is, if we reject the alleged secret and lengthy sojourn there of Moorcroft); the latest European visitors to the capital were the French Missionaries Huc and Gabet in 1846. Since then, during a lapse of nearly 60 years, none but Asiatics have gained this goal of ambition of all modern explorers.

The history of the exploration of Tibet and of the various attempts (some most successful) to penetrate

the country form an exhilarating chapter of earnest endeavour and wild adventure. So, too, the gradual elucidation of the geography of this land, through these efforts and by other ingenious resources, can be made a theme of absorbing interest.

In mediæval times, as we are aware, a certain number of names stand out as being those of famous travellers in Central Asia ; some being preachers of the Christian Faith, others being redoubtable mercantile adventurers. Unfortunately, the topographical details derivable from such of these bold spirits as had sufficient education to issue narratives of travel are of a confused and irritating quality. In those days Asiatic geography as deployed in European literature was indeed a quagmire to wander in ; the celebrated centres of inland kingdoms there being mere appellations, the locality of which seemed unimportant to indicate within one or two thousand miles of their actual situation. Thus, even if the travellers themselves had clear notions of their routes, they felt bound in a measure to reconcile these with the supposed facts they had learnt at home. In truth, their own preconceived ideas often led them into ridiculous errors regarding the localities actually reached, even apart from the natural propensity to exaggerate personal achievements.

We wish, however, to allude to what we personally consider an important element in the history and geography of Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkistan. It ought to be remembered that from the sixth to the

end of the eleventh centuries Nestorian and Armenian missionaries penetrated throughout the larger part of these territories in their efforts to propagate the Christian religion. It is probable, moreover, that certain questions in the discussion of Comparative Beliefs might be more equitably answered if this early introduction of Christian thought were given its proper weight, in examining for instance the curious developments of Northern Buddhism such as the Kalachakra system and the reforms of Tsongkhapa. Indeed, both the Mahomedan and Christian propaganda most likely promoted the evolution of a Supreme Deity in the Kalachakra Buddhism which first arose in Central Asia. All the mediæval itinerants—and even the Hebrew rabbi Benjamin of Tudela—were moved to amazement by the numbers of Nestorian Christian communities they encountered in regions so far remote as the very borders of China. Marco Polo constantly gives enumerations of the Christian population in the larger centres.

Whether the propagandists of our Faith actually made any settlements in, and whether they even entered, Tibet cannot be now determined. Personally we conclude that they could hardly have surmounted the cordon of mountains and ice-locked deserts bounding Tibet on the west and north. Nevertheless, as the natives of this territory had constant dealings with Mongolia, by the Lob Nor and Kōkō Nor routes, there is no improbability *prima facie* that the Nestorians should have reached Lhása itself. At least *the results* of their preachments would be easily

introduced or made known in such inter-communication.

Be this as it may, any conclusion concerning Nestorian Christians having reached Tibetan regions is a matter foreign of course to our present subject, because such missionaries would be Asiatics, not Europeans.

However, the circumstance of our having no information on this point is germane to the subject in hand, in that it seems to indicate that those travellers of the middle ages whose narratives have come down to our day did not extend their pilgrimages within the confines of Tibet. Divers allusions are made to that land, but all is of a vague and hearsay nature. The places most approximate actually reached were probably the city of Karakorum on the W. or the N.-W., Sachu on the northern side of the mountains now known as the Humboldt range, and some town such as Sining-fu on the N.-E. border. Nevertheless, one of the travellers in question does make mention of one European who had indeed visited a corner of Tibet, as we shall presently point out.

It may produce more assurance of this fact, that Tibet was not entered by these writers, if we take the Central Asian diarists of that era one by one and observe briefly how near (judging from their own allusions) each appears to have touched on the region under consideration.

I. BENJAMIN OF TUDELA, the Hebrew rabbi, started from Navarre on his travels about the year 1160. The style of the narrative and the absurd geographical

blunders indicate a man who writes rather from very faulty hearsay material than from personal experience of the countries discoursed of. How far the rabbi himself penetrated does not appear. His main purpose was to describe the various centres where Jews had settled in any large number, whether in Europe or in Asia. Commencing an account of Persia, not exactly asserting that he had visited that land, he presently without any preliminary remark transports the reader to Samarkand in which city he avers there dwelt in his time 50,000 of his race. In the next breath he mentions Tibet, but only to refer to the valuable musk deer to be found therein. He declares, moreover, that he personally reached the western borders of "Tsin," *i.e.*, China, although probably only the Kobdo region is intended. Benjamin of Tudela died on his wanderings in 1173 A. D.

II. JEAN DE PLANO CARPINI, otherwise Giovanni del Plan di Carpi, a Franciscan friar of the lesser Order, was despatched by the Pope in the year 1243 at the head of a small band on a mission to the Mongol princes, with a view to divert if possible the Mongol tribes from prosecuting their designs on Poland and Russia. The monkish envoys encountered "Duke Corrensa," a Mongol chieftain, with an army of 60,000 men resting in camp on the banks of the Dnieper. Having done homage to the general, they received from him an escort and post-horses to convey them into "the land of Comania" there to interview Baatu Khan, an imperial prince. This land, from Carpini's

description, was perhaps situated north-east of Georgia and not far south of Astrakhan. From Comania the monks entered the districts described as the country of the Kangittae, which region by some is thought to be identified with the desert tracks to the north-east of the Caspian Sea, the Kangittae themselves being Kirghiz.

Both the Comanians and Kangittae are described as pagans dwelling in tents, not practising agriculture but keeping large herds of cattle and sheep. Jean Carpini did not visit the then metropolis of the Mongols, Karakorum (a name which he writes *Cracurim*), although he avers, ' we were within half a day's journey of it when we were at the horde of the Syra or court of the great emperor. ' This was in all probability his furthest point east ; so that he did not touch Tibet.

III. WILLIAM DE RUBRUQUIS, properly WILHELM VAN RUYSBROECK, a lesser Franciscan friar, a Fleming born near Brussels, set out in June 1253 with others of the Order, entrusted with a mission to *Sartach* a Tatar prince ruling territory between the Don and the Volga. Thence the party journeyed on to the camp-settlement of Baatu Khan ; and, proceeding forward still further to the south-east, they reached one after the other cities which (taken in order from west to south-east) Rubruquis styles Kenchat, Talach, Equius, Kailak (in the land of Organum), and so on to the city of Karakorum, which he describes as situated in the south of the country of the Uigurs. Rubruquis refers definitely to the Tibetans under the name of

“Tanguts,” though his travels eastwards ended at Karakorum.¹

He says that the Tanguts occupied the mountains to the east (and south-east) of that city, and then goes on to relate that they had formerly the custom of eating the flesh of their parents when dead from motives of piety, believing it to be the most honourable mode of disposing of their bodies. They still made offering-bowls and drinking-cups of the skulls. He, then, refers to the yak as being an animal possessed by the Tibetans. But one of the most important bits of information mentioned by Rubruquis is that he met at Karakorum a goldsmith from Paris, WILLIAM BOUCHIER by name, who had resided himself in Tibet at the gold mines of “Bocol.” We would suggest the probability that these mines are identical with the Boikalik gold-diggings near which A. D. Carey passed, situate in the valley between the Chaman Tag and Akka Tag.²

IV. Our next traveller is the great MARCO POLO, whose journeyings, commenced in 1271 A. D., are too lengthy and well-known to be summarised. We may

¹ Query, were Karakorum and the *older* Khoten (the ruins near modern Khoten) identic, the former, perhaps, the Mongol name?

² The Boikalik gold diggings lie approximately in lat. 36° 28' N., long. 91° E. To reach this Bocol or Boikalik the adventurous goldsmith William Bouchier would journey from Karakorum (near Khoten) to Keria, Nia and Cherchen, and thence go by the old trade-track diagonally S. W. to the Amban Ashkan Pass (13 days march from Cherchen) over the Chaman Tag mountains. The “Bocol” mines are situated about 120 miles E. S. E. of the southern foot of the Amban Ashkan Pass.

remark that there is no evidence to indicate that he ever went so far south as Tibet, though he apporions a chapter to the Tibetans whose customs he rather erroneously dilates upon. Marco Polo plainly travelled in Kansu, and perhaps visited Sining, certainly Sachu.

V. GIOVANNI DA MONTECORVINO, also a Minorite monk, was despatched by Pope Nicholas IV, in the year 1288 to preach the Faith in China. He proceeded first as it would appear only into Asia Minor, returning in 1289 to Rome. But in 1291 he was again sent off travelling by way of Socotra to India, where he visited and reported on the Christians of St. Thomas. He stayed several years in India, and how he eventually reached China does not appear. It may have been overland through Tibet and Mongolia; or it may have been by sea. The former route might seem the more feasible for a traveller in the 13th or 14th century. At any rate John of Montecorvino, did eventually get there, as in 1307 he is spoken of as having been in "Cathay" some time. In that year the Pope declared him the first Archbishop of Cambalee, which is identified as being Peking.

We might add to this enumeration ODORIC DE PORTENALL, another Minorite friar, whom Astley, the compiler of such narrations, describes as "the prince of liars;" but this worthy did not make any pretence of having approached the confines of Tibet, though he avouches a familiarity with Karakorum. However, he **must** just be named in our list as of the 14th century.

Passing from the period of these unsatisfactory and tantalising chronicles, we find no mention in writings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the country with which we are concerned in the present pages. It was in the sixteenth century, nevertheless, that the great Jesuit Order began to despatch its series of missionaries to China, the first batch arriving in 1581. These did not, however, trench on Tibetan territory.¹ And it was from India, and not until the next century, that the attack eventually came.

ANTONIO DE ANDRADA IN TIBET.

(1623—1626).

With the exception of the French adventurer, William Bouchier, recorded by Rubruquis as having visited the Bocol, really the Boikalik, gold workings near the Kokoshili range in north-east Tibet, the first European known to have entered Tibet was the Jesuit Father Antonio de Andrade or Andrada. He was a Portuguese born at Oleiros in Alentejo in 1580. He was received into the Society of Jesus as a novice December 16th, 1596, and sent out to Goa in the year 1600. After some 23 years in the Portuguese propaganda at Goa, he seems to have conceived the desire of penetrating to China overland by Kashmir, Tibet, and Tartary. Accordingly he departed early in 1623 for Agra, North India.

¹ Between the years 1581 and 1681 no fewer than 126 missionaries of the Jesuit Order were despatched from Rome to China.

Of the exact movements of Andrada and the dates of his arrival at various points, there is little certainty. Nearly the whole of our information concerning his travels are contained in two letters written to his superior, the Jesuit General Mutio Vitelleschi; one from Agra in 1624, and another letter dated as written from "the Court of the King of Great Tibet at Chaparangue" on August 15th, 1626. The letters in question contain the most meagre details of the writer's travels, but a considerable display of information concerning the people and religion of the country he professed to have "discovered." The scanty yet confused account of his journey, together with the absurd inapplicability of his exposition of their manners and beliefs to the Tibetans as we now know them, might excuse one for pronouncing the whole story of Andrada's visit to the country to be a fraud. How far the published effusions were the actual composition of their hero and how much was the invention and elaboration of the home authorities cannot be at all determined. There is, however, beneath the bungling account printed and the manifest attempt to exaggerate the importance of the achievement, a certain substratum of correctness in two or three topographical points, which make it extremely unlikely that the whole exploit was a fiction. But we may give the details of Andrada's travels as derivable from the letters.

In order to reconcile the various dates and assertions of the different pamphlets issued, we are bound to assume that Andrada made two successive excursions

sions from Agra northwards. We do not know the date on which the Jesuit Father left Agra on his first adventure, but on this journey he seems to have reached "Bardinara" in Ladak on the 16th of May 1624, having visited Srinagar ("Sarinegar") in Kashmir on the way. He probably went no further, but returned to Agra whence he wrote a letter, dated Agra, November 8th, 1624, in which he announced his "discovery of the Grand Cathay or the kingdoms (*sic*) of Tibet!" On June 17th, 1625, he set out again from Agra; and, arriving soon after in Kashmir, according to his letter from "the Court of the King of Great Tibet," he "entered Skrinagar and Chasaranga, very great and populous cities, in the last of which are many Christian monuments. And from thence on August 28th, 1625, crossing an exceeding high mountain on the top of it found a vast lake which gives rise to the Indus, Ganges and other great rivers of India. Passing forward through high mountains, we arrived after many days at the city of Redor in the cold northern region of the same name. And from thence, travelling through the kingdoms of Maranga and Tankhut subject to the Tatars, in two months reached Kathay."

Such is the entire record of this wonderful and formidable pilgrimage from Kashmir to China! The curious feature of the description is that the whole is signed "Antonio de Andrade," and dated from the king's court "at Chaparangué, August 15th, 1626." Now this Chaparangué is presumably Tsaparang (usually sounded *Chaparang*) on the River Sutlej in

the Gartok district of West Tibet. If this be so, the suggestion arises : was this sketch of the route into Kathay or China rather a projected than an accomplished journey of the worthy father's, with his future tense converted by the propaganda at home into the past tense for purposes of their own ? How came Andrada, otherwise, to be at Tsaparang when his great pilgrimage into China (and back!) was already carried out ? If it were a projected trip, on the other hand, the sketch would tally with the route which might be taken from Tsaparang. Having visited the vast lake which was then supposed to give birth to the Indus, Ganges, etc., *viz.*, Lake Map'am or **Manasarowar**, they would pass due north over the lofty Gangri range to Rudok (his *Redor*), a town lying in the district of the same name. Thence they might proceed still north into the country west of the Lob Nor and so, by the Tarim region and the Tangut country of Kōkō Nor, find access *viâ* Sining into China. But such speculations are altogether unsatisfying with so little material from which to form them. Accordingly we leave Andrada and his vaunted Novo Descobrimento de Gram Cathayo on Reinos de Tibet—"descobrimento" of Grand Cathay, when so early as the 13th century Pope Innocent had appointed John de Montecorvino Archbishop of Peking ! We may just mention that the wily Portuguese father died eventually in Goa, March 19th, 1634, the victim of a secret poisoner. Nevertheless his Tibetan adventure, paltry though its details were, had been published

before his death in the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Latin and Polish languages.

JOHANN GRUEBER AND ALBERT D'ORVILLE.

(1661—1662.)

In the year 1659 Johann Grueber, an Austrian of the Jesuit Order, was sent out to Macao to help in the China missions. He was a man of 36, rather older than the majority of those sent out for the first time to that country. No sooner, however, had he concluded his studies in the seminary at Macao and had reached the mission-field in North China than he received commands to return to Europe. Thereupon he wrote and obtained permission from the General of his Order to come back from Peking by land and to travel *via* Mongolia to India, and so home. He secured as *compagnon de voyage* another Jesuit father, a Belgian by nationality, named Albert d'Orville. D'Orville was a year older than Grueber and had been in China four years, speaking the language fluently. He was of good birth, of an old Brussels family, and was familiarly known as "Le Comte;" nevertheless his companion Grueber was the leader of the party.

Starting from Peking in June 1661, the pair took the customary caravan track to the south-west amid the convolutions of the Hoang Ho. They arrived presently at Sining-fu. whence, skirting the northern

shore of the Blue Lake, they made direct to the south across the successive ranges, river courses, and plains, veering slightly west as they approached Lhása. They stopped for some days each at Toktoke and at Radeng Monastery. The pair of travellers must have made unusually rapid progress; because, according to their scanty notes, they arrived at Lhasa (which Grueber styles Barantola) only three months after quitting Peking. A sojourn of one month was made in the Tibetan capital, which time was employed by Grueber to good purpose. He made a number of drawings of localities and costumes in the place, and these were subsequently engraved and were published by Father Athanasius Kircher in his *La Chine Illustree*, the author having had them direct from Grueber. Neither Grueber nor d'Orville were permitted to see the Dalai Lama, because they had stated beforehand their unwillingness to make any prostrations in his presence. Nevertheless, Grueber saw a portrait of the pontiff at the entrance gate "du palais royal," and brought home a copy alleged to have been "fidèlement depaint" by him. This picture, together with a drawing of Potala as viewed from the southern base, were also published in Kircher's work; and the latter view has been often since reproduced. Potala they styled "Bietala."

Quitting Barantola, otherwise Lhása, the beginning of November 1661; they "thence in four days crossed over the Langur mountain"—*Langur* is asserted

to be a general term used in those times for any southern range ; so, probably, the Khambala range is indicated. Making south-west, after 23 days further—*i.e.*, 27 days after leaving Lhása—they reached Kuti on the borders of Nepal ; and ten days later came to Kadmendu, whence in half a day they arrived at the city of *Nekbal* called also *Buddan* (evidently “*Patan*”), the regal city of the whole kingdom.

Meagre as are the statements of Grueber concerning so remarkable a journey, we cannot but regard him in the main as a reliable narrator. For example, the observations of latitude which he has recorded are almost accurate, and subsequent modern observations confirm their approximation to accuracy. Thus Grueber gives the position of Sining as in lat. 36° 10' N., and calculates the latitude of Lhása as being 29° 6' N., the last observation being only half a degree out. These values, it must be borne in mind, had been never previously calculated and the information was based on original observations.

Returning to the explorers themselves, it is sad to have to record that d'Orville died almost immediately upon their arrival at Agra, on April 12th, 1662, aged only 39 years. Grueber went on alone to Europe. He is sometimes said to have died three years after at Florence ; but this, it seems, is not the fact. He subsequently visited Constantinople more than once, being desirous of discovering a route to China through Asia Minor and Bokhara. However, he got no further east, and his death is recorded to have taken place

at Patak in Hungary, September 30th, 1680, at the age of 57. ¹

¹ *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus par Pères Augustin and Aloys de Backer: Supplement; tome ix, p. 443.*

CHAPTER II.

THE CAPUCHIN FRIARS REACH LHASA AND SETTLE THERE

So early as the year 1701 the Order of Minorite Observants of St. Francis, pushing their mission through North China to the westward, had at length founded a settlement not very far from the borders of north-east Tibet, stationing themselves at Si-ngan-fu, about 450 miles east of the Amdo region. The mission was under the jurisdiction of the Titular Roman Catholic Bishop of Peking and consisted of only two monks : Fathers Antonio de Castrocaro and Basil de Gemoni, the latter being constituted Vicar Apostolic of ‘‘Khensi,’’ . . . of Kansu. On their arrival at Si-ngan in 1701, they actually found a few native Chinese Christians resident in that place, and also a few more scattered about in the neighbouring towns even as far east as Lanchau-fu as well as in one or two adjacent hamlets. Whether these were descendants from the Nestorian Christians of mediæval times, or immigrant converts from other parts of China where the Jesuits had worked, does not appear. In 1704 the Vicar Apostolic died, and Father Antonio da Castrocaro laboured on alone, his superiors both in China and at Rome leaving him apparently with so small

a pittance irregularly paid that he almost died of starvation. In 1709 another missionary, Joannes Baptista, joined him at Si-ngan.

In the year 1707, however, Tibet was attacked by Christian pioneers from a diametrically-opposite quarter, namely, the south ; and, as we shall see, most successfully.¹

About 1703 a party of Capuchin friars had landed in India with a sort of roving commission from the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda.² They established themselves first at Chandernagore near Calcutta, being placed not under the Vicar Apostolic of Bengal, but in a measure subject to the "titular Bishop of Mailapur." From Chandernagore they put out a branch mission at Patna in Behar ; and thence in 1705 actually entered Nepal, opening a station for work at Patan, a town close to Kathmandu and almost a suburb thereof. Eager apparently to push forward as far as possible into remote and unknown regions rather than to concentrate their energies by

¹ The greater portion of this first part of our account of the Capuchin Mission to Lhása (from its arrival up to the close of the second Mission in 1733) is founded on the particulars we have derived from an old German narrative by an anonymous author in the British Museum library. The work has a lengthy title-page: *Missio Apostolica, Thibetana Seraphica. Das ist: Neue durch Päpstlichen Gewalt im dem Grossen Thibetanischen Reich von denen Capuciniern aufgerichtete Mission, etc., etc., ... übersetzt von F.E.C.I., einem Priester Capuc. Order. Erstes, und Zwenstes Buchs.* It was published at Munich, by J. J. Votter in 1740.

² The Tibetan Mission appears to have been committed by the Propaganda specially to Capuccini belonging by birth to a belt of country round Ancona known as the March of Ancona (Marca d'Ancona).

consolidating their work in head-quarters, they now determined to scale the higher Himalayas and establish a mission in the heart of the mystic land of Tibet.

Early in 1708 four Capuchin friars started from Kathmandu and surmounting the Pango Pass (19,000 feet altitude) journeyed without molestation to Kiron and Dengri and thence to Gyangtse and Palte (on Yamdok Ts'o); at length in two months reaching Lhása. On their way thither two of the party seem to have diverged from Palte eastwards and to have crossed the Yarlung valley, penetrating eventually into the sub-province of Takpo (*Dwags-po*), east of Chet'ang (Tset'ang). Thence they appear to have at once returned to Chet'ang and proceeded northwest *via* Samye and the Thib La to join their two brethren at Lhása, the latter having journeyed to the capital the ordinary way over the Tsangpo at Chaksam. Arrived in Lhása they were received not at all unfavourably by the authorities who were then upset too much by the discord in internal political affairs to quarrel with men who spoke only words of peace.

The names of these Capuchins, apparently the first Europeans to stay more than a few days in Lhása, and but for the flying visit of Grueber and d'Orville 50 years before, the first to set foot in that unknown city, are given as: Father Domenico da Fano, Prefect of the Mission, Father Giuseppe da Ascoli, Father Francis Maria da Tours, and Father Francesco Olivero Orazio

della Penna.¹ They appear to have set to work humbly and inoffensively enough, saying their one daily mass and not keeping the hours when busy, as allowed by their Order, learning the Tibetan language, and seeking to instruct any inquisitives who came to ascertain their tenets and purposes. They maintained communications with the Mission Settlement in Nepal which presently was moved from Kathmandu to Batgao to avoid the hostility of certain Brahmins in the former city.² The whole chain of Capuchin mission stations from Chandernagore to Lhása was held to come under the designation of "the Thibetan Mission" and the keeping open of this line of communication with civilisation was considered essential to the welfare of the undertaking.

The authorities at home, nevertheless, looked coldly on the enthusiasm of the missionaries. They grudged the constant outlay on a work which so far had yielded small results. Indeed, they openly seem to have set out a balance sheet indicating the cost of the five (query ? four) stations of the Tibet Mission with the number of workers on one side and the number of baptisms credited on the other. At the close of 1713 the balance sheet was summarised by the Financial Committee in Rome thus: "A sum of 5,200

Another account mentions only two as the pioneer missionaries at Lhása, namely, P. P. Giuseppe da Ascoli and Maria da Tours; but the whole four appear to have been in Lhása by 1709.

¹ Eventually there were established three stations in Nepal: Kathmandu, Patan, and Batgao—then under separate kings.

scudi (=£1,125) had been spent upon the Thibetan Mission with very little success as a result. The Fathers, of whom 15 had gone out at various times, had in ten years succoured 380 dying infants and had administered Holy Baptism to only two adults making them children of God.' This report, it must be remembered, concerned the results derived from all stations in Bengal and Nepal as well as in Tibet, and these were certainly exceedingly poor.

But long before this report the policy of starving the Mission had been in progress. Only £100 a year was nominally sent out to support eight or nine missionaries; but, by exchange, tolls, carriage, etc., the recipients complained it was reduced by one-third before it could be utilized. As early as 1709 the workers at Lhása found themselves reduced to the verge of starvation. Father Domenico had returned to Nepal, and Father Giuseppe da Ascoli had become prefect at Lhása with only two colleagues. In that year they wrote begging letters to their brethren at various stations; and the poor missionaries at Si-ngan, themselves in great distress, forwarded them 15 scudi (=£3 5s.) early in 1710. But this was only transitory help; and at the close of the winter of 1710 it was determined to suspend operations and to quit both Nepal and Tibet. Accordingly in 1711 the missionaries left Lhása, and the whole body was concentrated at Chandernagore. Here, no doubt, assistance of various kinds was available for their support, as there was a respectable body of French settlers in the place; and, indeed, in 1710 a

new Mission house had been built, and in 1719, we find it was, that the erection of a large Roman Catholic Church was completed at Chandernagore.¹

The names of missionary fathers of the Tibetan Mission in their several hospices or parishes from the starting of the work in 1703 until the temporary abandonment of the branch-stations and withdrawal to Chandernagore in 1711 are thus enumerated :—

1. P. Joannes da Fano	{ At Chandernagore in the Kingdom of Bengal.
2. P. Paolo Maria da Matelica	
3. P. Joachimo da Loretto	{ At Patna in the Kingdom of Behar.
4. P. Pietro da Serra Petrona	
5. P. Francesco Felix da Morro	{ At Kathmandu in the Kingdom of Nepal.
6. P. Antonio Maria da Jessy.	
7. P. Domenico da Fano (1st Prefect of the mission).	{ Missionaries sent to Thibet and Lhása from Kathmandu.
8. P. Gioseppe da Ascoli (2nd Prefect).	
9. P. Francesco Maria da Tours.	
10. P. Francesco Orazio della Penna.	
11. P. Joannes Francis da Fossenbrun.	

¹ The following is a translation of the decree of Pope Clement XI. authorising the Tibetan Mission to build this church :—

Whereas our beloved son Dominicus of Fano of the Order of the Capucins, and Prefect of the Tibetan Mission, has presented to us his humble petition for our Papal privilege and permission to erect upon the Mission Station and settlement at Chandernagore in the Kingdom of Bengal, an oratory or small Church wherein to perform the offices of religion for the devotion of the Faithful : we hereby grant to the said Father Dominicus, to his exceeding consolation and spiritual joy and rejoicing, our full Papal authority and permission, to erect in the above-named place a suitable building for Divine Worship, with the consent and approbation of the ordinary ; and therein to officiate, himself and such other priests as have been approved by his Bishop or other higher ecclesiastic ; and therein to celebrate the Holy Mysteries, and offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, in the presence of all the Faithful. This permission is granted with full apostolic authority, &c., &c. Dated at Rome, the 20th June, 1714. (Signed) Fr. Oliverius.

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|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 12. P. Angelico da Brescia. | } Sent to Lhása from
Pathna. |
| 13. P. Bonaventura da Pedona | |
| 14. P. Antonio da Castignano. | —Died at Chandernagore. |
| 15. P. Giacomo da Breno. | —Died at Kathmandu. |
| 16. P. Gregorio da Pedona. | |

Forced, though the fathers were, to retire from both Tibet and Nepal, they soon cherished thoughts of a speedy return. In the year 1712 it was decided to despatch Domenico da Fano to Rome itself that he might personally represent to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda the sad suspension of work that had promised so well. His efforts at Rome in 1713 were successful; a most fortunate circumstance being that it happened that a letter from the Bishop of Mailapur describing the collapse of the mission and urging its re-suscitation reached the authorities about the same time.

The result was that the Sacred Congregation declared that henceforth 12 priests were to be allocated to the Tibetan Mission with an annual allowance of 1,000 scudi and travelling expenses, the following to be their places of residence; two priests in each station save in Lhása where four were to dwell :—

1st.—Ciandernagor or, as it might be, Chandernagore in Bengal.

2nd.—Pathna, in the kingdom of Behar.

3rd.—Nekpal, that is in the capital of the kingdom so called.

4th.—Lhása, in the kingdom so called, also called Boutan.

5th.—Drogn-gne, in the province of Takpo in Tibet.

Towards the first outfit of the missionaries Pope Clement XI. himself gave 400 scudi.

Accordingly, in 1714, the friar Domenico returned to India armed with these concessions as well as three or four recruits to make up his dozen missionaries ; and early in 1715, after a suspension of the mission of more than four years, three of the brethren once again took up residence in Lhása. These were Domenico da Fano, Orazio della Penna, and Giovanni Francesco da Fossombrone. On arrival they delivered to the Gyalpo (really the *Gyal-ts'ab* or Regent) or so-called king the following letter from Pope Clement the Eleventh :—

To the most illustrious and Mighty King.

We wish you the light and well-being of the Divine Grace.

Among the many princely and noble qualities displayed by Your Majesty in a striking degree, the fame of which has reached us, the foremost place and rank must be assigned to the gracious kindness and special favour which you have shown to those who profess the Christian faith in your vast and important kingdom ; which we have heard of with the greatest rejoicing and contentment of heart from our beloved son Domenico of Fano, of the Order of the Minor Brothers of S. Francis called Capucins, who for a considerable time has dwelt in your dominions as an Apostolic Missionary, and is also purposing to return thither. As this favour shown to all believers in Christ, especially to the Apostolic Missionaries, is a source of the utmost gratification to us, we deem it but right and fitting to send you a despatch expressing our heartfelt thanks for your great kindness, begging Your Majesty to continue it, and to afford the Mission all the support and encouragement you possibly can. And, although we are now hearing day after day of your most favourable disposition towards the Apostolic Missionaries, we cannot but feel impelled to commend them most earnestly to your Majesty's royal and all powerful protection and safe-guardianship. Meanwhile we on our part, will not fail incessantly to entreat the King of Kings

and Lord of Lords, to look down with favour upon your kingdom from above, to pour out His blessing upon it and visit it with His grace and heavenly influences ; and, above all, to let the bright light of His truth and Gospel shine upon your own heart and mind.

Given at Rome on the 6th of January, 1714, &c.

Soon after the re-settlement of the missionaries in the capital of Tibet, there began another period of internecine strife in the country, chiefly owing to the rival claims of the Dalai Lama and the Gyal-ts'ab to the temporal power which by the constitution belonged properly to the former, but which on various specious grounds was demanded by the latter. The Emperor of China was appealed to and, owing to the factions of the monks in Sera Monastery, the Gyal-ts'ab made out a case which it suited the ambition of the Chinese authorities to support. As a result the Emperor took the unprecedented step of ordering the deportation of the sacred person of the Dalai Lama out of Lhása into the Kōkō Nor country, in a monastery of which he was incarcerated.

Naturally during this unrestful period the Christian missionaries in Lhása held their lives on a somewhat precarious tenure ; and at any rate made little if any impression upon the consciences of the Tibetans whom they would have fain converted to their Holy Faith. It was probably upon this account that at this time (1717—18) the brethren sought to open some branch station in Tibet as a possible place of refuge from the revolutionary monks in the capital. Accordingly they seem to have written to the Gyalpo or Raja of

Sikkim (styled in Della Penna's account "the king of Bresgiogn," i.e., *Bras-jong* the native name of Sikkim) enquiring if they might reside in his dominions. This request was favourably answered by the Sikkim ruler. However, eventually, they gave up this idea and decided to open a branch station in Tibet itself, namely, in the province of Takpo (*Dwagspo*), where some years previously they had made a visit. Thus in 1718 we find the mission with a branch house at Drong-nge in Takpo, near the borders of East Bhutan about 14 days' journey to the south-east of Lhása.

Affairs soon, however, seem to have taken a favourable turn in the capital. The Gyalts'ab or Gyalpo appears to have become well-impressed by the friars after his position of authority had been confirmed by the Emperor of China. This personage was a Mongol, and his name is given as Telchen Batur, an appellation difficult to resolve into its proper orthography. Without accepting the assertions of Della Penna (who did not become Prefect of the Mission until 1725 in succession to Fra Domenico who then died) that this high personage or his successor Mi-dwang ever dreamt of embracing Christianity, we may believe that the friars by their efforts to do good and medical skill had convinced those in authority in Lhása that their labours were beneficent and worthy a guarded encouragement.

Nevertheless, Orazio della Penna has related how, about the year 1723, he entered into a grand religious controversy and interchange of letters with the Dalai Lama himself. The worthy father sets out at length

the arguments used, or at least alleged by him to have been used, on either side; and he then records the following version of how the matter ended, a version which we may be pardoned for believing somewhat overdrawn to his own side:—

We have inserted the Defence of his religion by the Grand Lama which he considered, or pretended to consider, as conclusive; after receiving which the Missionaries drew up a paper in reply, refuting his arguments one by one. This he studied with close attention and was at length convinced of the palpable truth and sweet attractiveness of our holy religion; he experienced a deep sense of pleasure and an equally deep feeling of shame; of pleasure, because his reason could now be fully satisfied, and could rest on firm ground; of shame because he now saw so plainly, how grossly he had deceived himself by thinking that his arguments were as firmly knit together as the Gordian knot and that they could never be undone; but like the famous knot, they were now rent asunder, and all his ideas underwent a total change. He lost his former depression and became quite strong and cheerful again; the agony of uncertainty, and all the doubts and fears which had weighed as so heavy a burden upon him, being now removed, afforded him the most welcome relief. He now concerned himself as to how he could show us his good-will in a practical form, and also yield open and public testimony to the superiority of our religion, as well as express his own personal reverence and esteem for it. He therefore caused to be drawn up in proper form, a document empowering the Capucins to build a Monastery or Hospice, and a public Church to be used for the free and unhindered exercise of the Christian religion.

He added the following reason for granting this great privilege:—
“Because the Capucins live in Thibet for no other purpose than to help other people and to do good to all.”

The result of the controversy was at least a tangible gain—this sanction of the highest and most sacred authority in the kingdom to the building of both a

hospice and a Christian place of public worship in Lhása. The document is perhaps worth giving in full, though it is a lengthy one :—

Decree of the Beza Harar-boba, Chief High Priest in the Kingdom of Grand Tartary ; declared by the Golden King, that is to say the Chinese Emperor, to be divinely, or oracularly delivered. We hereby order and command as follows, to every one living under the light of the sun : especially the Gnerba (the Chief Minister) at Putala (the residence of the Grand Lama) ; and the Gnerba at Lhása ; also to all in any position of authority, judges, magistrates, mayors, councillors, rangers of woods ; and all government officials, of superior or inferior rank, whatever may be the office they hold ; also land-holders, householders, and their stewards or agents ; those also who have any privileges and exemptions granted to them by us or any other potentate : to all abovementioned we order that they are not to place the slightest obstacle or hindrance in the way of the Lami Gokhar (that is the European Capucin Priests) which might delay or inconvenience them in building their Monastery or little Convent and a Church for public services, upon the building site called Sháchén Naga ; seeing that they have already agreed upon the fair value of the land, and have in fact deposited the purchase money in the Varanga (that is the royal rent-office and treasury). Every facility is to be afforded them in the acquisition of building materials and other needful accessories, to accomplish their purpose. We are according these privileges to the said Priests, because they came to Thibet and remain here simply for the good of their fellow-creatures and to help them ; not like so many others, for their own gain and benefit. In witness whereof and in further confirmation whereof, we shall set our great seal to this deed, which is to last, and to remain in force, as long as the law itself. Therefore see to it, and let your eyes be watchful over it, all ye whom we have hereinbefore cited and addressed ; ye Ministers, Judges, Officials of high or lower rank, &c., &c. And also ye Thibetans, Chinese, Tartars, Hor, and others of every nation and every place, priests and laymen—take heed all of you, that in obedience to this present order, you cause no difficulty nor impediment to the said

Capucins, nor do anything which might annoy or injure them or their property. Neither are they to be required to pay the *ula pua* (different duties) nor *Onera* taxes, such as others have to pay; but you are to endeavour to cultivate their friendship and to live on terms of good fellowship with them, and treat them as your neighbours, so that they may pass their time in peace and quietness, and enjoy contentment and happiness in our country. Let this decree be firmly bound upon your hearts and minds, so that its injunctions may be duly fulfilled and thoroughly executed.

Prepared and given in our Grand Palace at Putala on the 17th day of the 12th month in the year of the water-rabbit (that is in our reckoning the 27th February 1724). That this copy of the decree of the Chief Omniscient Grand Lama is exactly similar to the original, is hereby attested by me,

Chiesre-Rinboce ; whereto I set my seal.

L. S.

Title-deed and Contract of Purchase, relating to the land and building site for the erection of a small monastery or hospice, and a Church, granted to the Capucin Missionary fathers by the royal exchequer, for the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion.

Innocent (the 13th), Chief Roman Bishop, and illustrious Grand Lama and Chief Minister of the self-existent God, has deposited and duly paid the sum of 18 *Tanghe* (silver coin, one of which equals more than 14 paul), as the value of the land and building site called Shachen Naga, which consists of a square of 12 colonen on each side (a colon measures about 18 Roman feet), although the real value of this piece of ground is 100 *Tanghe*. The purchase has been made for the purpose of erecting upon the land a dwelling place and monastery for all the Lami Gokar (European Priests) of the Capucin order who are now here, and who will be sent here in the future, by the above-named High Priest Innocent and his successors. This is all clearly stated in the books of the exchequer concerning land and ground. With regard to the taxes and

duties, such proceedings are to be taken as are enjoined by the Decree of the Chief Grand Lama Beza-harar-boba.

Given in the year of the Wooden

Serpent on the 11th day of the 2nd

month (with us, April 8, 1725).

Having been granted in this way permission to erect their mission-house and chapel in Lhása and even given a site for the buildings, the fathers set about operations of this practical nature without delay. But no sooner was the work well in hand than an untoward event occurred which bid fair to upset their plans completely. The Kyi Chhu, the river which flows close along the southern suburbs of the city, and which indeed is only kept from inundating the lanes of the southern quarter by strong revetment banks abutting the Lingkor road in that quarter, was at this time increased to unusual volume by rains and by freshets from the mountains. In August 1725 the river burst its bounding wall and flooded a large part of Lhása, to such a degree as to necessitate the people going about in leathern boats in the streets.

Here was an opportunity for the Ngag-pa Tantrik magicians and many of the lower-class priests who had long cherished ill-will—and naturally so—against those who had shewn evident zeal to overturn the established religion. The gods of the soil of Lhása (*i.e.*, the *Shibdag*) were wrathful at the intrusion of these foreign priests and at their being actually permitted to desecrate the very soil of the Sacred City by erecting thereon buildings dedicated to this hostile religion. Hence these disastrous floods which were

ultimately destined to sweep away the entire city. The result of such an outcry at the time when the citizens were suffering grievous damage to their property from the overflowing river may well be imagined. A mob made for the scene of the heretical buildings bent on demolition and possibly on homicide. The fathers kept the riotous monks and lay-folk effectually at bay for the time by exhibiting the permissive decrees of the Gyalpo and the Grand Lama stamped on yellow satin and with the confirmatory seal of the Celestial Emperor. It seemed as if this yellow standard had a quelling influence ; for the *emeute* ended. The annoyance, however, was constantly repeated, and the missionaries themselves personally hustled and molested in the streets whenever they walked abroad. At length the Gyalpo Telchen Batur issued a proclamation making it a penal offence to injure the missionaries or their property, and seeking to appease the mob of low monks and others by stating that, having consulted the head of Samye Monastery, he had decided that the cause of the late floods was not the residence of the Capuchin fathers in the city, but the sins and misdeeds of the Tibetans themselves. After this the open persecution of the missionaries ceased. Presently the little church and mission house were completed, and at its opening eleven Christians, mostly Newari natives of Nepal, were present. Della Penna states that the new establishment was even visited by "the Grand Lama of Lhása, Sempa Chembo by name," and he further asserts that on leaving their

house the holy man exclaimed : "Your God is in truth a great god."

It would be interesting to ascertain whereabouts in the city the site of this little Christian church was—the name is given as Shachen (or really Zhwa-chen) Naga, "the hatted Nagas." Sarat Chandra Das in his list of localities in Lhása mentions Kyang-t'ang Naga ; but this particular name does not occur.¹ One would like to make clear the real fate of this the only religious house of the Christian Faith ever erected in Lhása, and which still was in use in 1745, 158 years ago ! Was it demolished altogether as is alleged or was it converted to other uses and, may be, is even still standing unheeded in the heart of the Buddhist metropolis ?

The Capuchin fathers now set themselves to literary work ; and various translations into Tibetan were carried through. These were despatched to Rome to be printed, Cardinal Belluga having had a large fount of Tibetan type cast at his private expense on models sent to him by Orazio della Penna, the most literary of the brethren.

The next trouble of the missionaries was the old money embarrassment. The jealousy of the Jesuit Community again succeeded and the allowance from the Propaganda in Rome was once more reduced. Thus the fathers from different causes were at length

¹ Cassiano Belligatti, however, in an incidental allusion in his narrative states that the Mission hospice stood near to the Moru monastery. This monastery is located in the extreme N. E. quarter of Lhása.

reduced to 5 men for the whole five or six stations in Bengal, Nepal and Tibet. This was in 1729. Starvation once again confronted the workers, of whom two only were now left in Tibet, namely Orazio della Penna di Billi and Gioachino da San Anatolia. Midwang seems to have been the Gyalpo in power; and so great a respect had he for the foreign priests that they allege, their condition being patent to all, he himself offered to provide them with a sufficiency to procure the necessaries of life. It was also suggested that the fathers who had a considerable medical practice among the people should charge fees for their advice and medicines. Both these offers seem to have been declined by the missionaries on the ground that it was against their principles to be in any way supported out of the charity provided by non-Christians.

In 1729 the convulsion in the constitution of the Tibetan Government caused further troubles, an edict forbidding the people to hold any religious dealings with the missionaries being promulgated; but on the re-organisation of affairs in 1730 the embargo appears to have been removed. They had nevertheless now incurred the permanent enmity of the priestly and magician classes in Lhása, and henceforth the Mission was ever in danger from their machinations. Della Penna's health now also unfortunately began to give way. In 1731 his term of service in Tibet is said by him to have reached then just 20 years. He devoted himself as before to lengthy letters of refutation of Tibetan Buddhism to lay before the Dalai Lama and

the Gyalpo Mi-dwang who still retained office, notwithstanding the political troubles. But the intermittent nature of the resources supplied from Europe, added to the age and ill-health of the two surviving members of the mission, fast brought affairs to a crisis. At length we are told Orazio della Penna was prevailed upon by his comrade to quit Lhása for Nepal in order to see if the change of air and surroundings would not restore his health.

Accordingly in April 1733 the dispirited Capuchin prefect bade farewell to his only co-adjutor Father Gioachino and set out alone from Lhása on the trying journey to the Nepalese frontier. Armed with a pass from the faithful "King Mi-dwang," which provided him with supplies and baggage transit throughout the route, Della Penna travelled *viâ* Palte, Gyangtse, and Dingri to Kuti, and so at last reached the capital of Nepal. No sooner, however, had he arrived in Kathmandu, worn with fatigue and illness as he was, than the king there cast him into prison where he remained several months. In the meantime Father Gioachino proceeded to wind up the affairs of the mission in Lhása, as the complete failure of means of support made his departure also a sheer necessity. Having obtained from Mi-dwang a document safeguarding the Mission premises and promising that on the return of himself or other Capuchin friars they should be given up to them and to them only, Gioachino da San Anatolia turned his back on Lhása, leaving that city in the middle of July 1733.

For some two years or so, after Della Penna's release and recovery, the Mission work was carried on in Nepal, both at Kathmandu and at Batgao, with some measure of success. The king of Kathmandu seems to have given the missionaries whom he had at first imprisoned considerable encouragement from political motives. He gave a charter to them permitting them to reside and preach, and issued in 1735 a royal manifesto allowing liberty of conscience to his subjects in the matter of Christianity.

By this time, however, the Capuchin missionaries in the so-called "Tibetan Mission" had been reduced to three, distributed one at Patna and two in Nepal. "One had been a missionary for 17 years and was now weak, ailing, and unfit to work; another had served 22 years in this Mission, was 77 years old and blind in one eye; and the third, the Father Prefect, had completed 25 years of service out in these parts." On these facts being represented in moving terms to the Father Procurator-General in Rome, three further men were despatched to join the depleted band of workers, as well as funds of a temporary amount. This was in 1736. But already driven to desperation the fiery and zealous Prefect, Orazio della Penna, had started for Rome, leaving Vito da Recanati in Nepal and Gioachino in Patna. He went determined to outwit the tacit foes of the mission, the Jesuits, and to represent in burning language the crying needs and the hopeful prospects of yet another campaign into Tibet and Lhasa. His record of work already accomplished was

couched in modest terms. "During eight whole years that he had been Prefect, Holy Baptism had been administered in Tibet, Nekpal, and Patna, to *no more than* 2,587 children who had departed this life very soon after their new birth into the kingdom of God.¹ At Lhása, he had baptised seven adults, natives of Niwarra or Nekpal, who were engaged in commerce at Lhása; of these one was a priest and member of a religious community and of good family. Besides these, at the time of his departure, he could count as belonging to his Church at Lhása, 13 newly converted Thibetans and five Niwarrese; besides 17 Christian Chinese, and four enquirers, catechumens, so to speak, also Chinese." The father ascribed this scantiness of the harvest to the fewness of the labourers; so many of the latter had died at their posts, leaving vacancies which it was impossible to fill up, and work begun which it was impossible to carry on.

¹ It seems to have been the curious custom of these Roman fathers to get, permission from heathen parents to baptise newly-born infants that were about to die, which ceremony the parents seem to have readily acquiesced in, perhaps thinking it some charm which might cause the infants to recover.

CHAPTER III.

DESIDERI AND VAN DER PUTTE.

IPPOLITO DESIDERI (1714—1721).

THE success of the Capuchin missionaries in Lhása seems to have aroused very soon the jealousy of the Jesuit Order. For nearly a century and a half the Jesuit brotherhood had been hard at work in the Chinese Empire to which the Tibetan territory was more or less subordinate, and they now felt that they had neglected to enter an open door which was more accessible than they had thought. No sooner had the pertinacity of the worthy Capuchin friars put them in apparent possession of the land, than the other Order began to lay claim to the Tibetan field as their rightful inheritance. Not only did the Jesuits urge the propinquity of Tibet to China in maintenance of their claim, but they also advanced the plea of first occupancy of the territory by their own emissaries. This last, the most tangible, argument was founded on the entry into the country made by Andrada in 1624 and the journey by the Jesuits Grueber and d'Orville in 1661. We shall see that the decision of the authorities at the Vatican was eventually given against the Jesuit contention, after a dispute extending over a lengthy period of years; but in the interim the claim

proved a secret and additional source of anxiety and harassment to the members of the Capuchin Mission in Lhása.¹

However, at the outset of the claim the Jesuits sought to acquire material to support their case by despatching into Tibet an agent of the Society. This step was taken partly to procure a report of their own upon the alleged importance of the Capuchin work in the capital of Tibet, and in the hope of being able to discredit the same by the evidence of one who had visited the sphere of operations. Another object was to carry on and keep up the idea of their supposed

¹ Besides the MS. Journal by Desideri mentioned in the footnote on the following page, the authorities for the particulars of his travels are five letters written from various places, and which have been made public from time to time. In chronological order Desideri's letters may be thus enumerated :—

a A letter dated from Agra in 1714, describing the delays in prosecuting his journey from Goa into N. W. India ; preserved in the library at Stonyhurst College, Lancashire.

b A letter dated from Leh in Ladak, August 5th, 1715, addressed to the General of the Society of Jesus in Rome, describing the journey from Kashmir to Leh. Printed at Rome in the *Sommario of La Causa tra Gesuiti e Cappuccini circa la Priorita della Missione del Tibet*, under date 1728.

c A long letter dated from Lhása, April 10th, 1716, addressed to Father Ildebrando Grassi, narrating particulars of the journey to Lhása. Translated from the Italian into French, and under the title *Sur le Thibet* published in *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* ; Recueil XV, pp. 183—208. It is from this letter that most accounts of Desideri's travels have been compiled.

d A letter dated from Lhása, February 13th, 1717 ; published in *Biblioteca Pistoensis* by Father Zaccaria.

e A brief letter dated from Kuti in Nepal, September 21st, 1721, addressed to His Holiness the Pope, announcing that in obedience to the Pope's orders he had left Tibet and had crossed the frontier into Nepal. Printed in *La Rivista Europea*, July 1876, p. 293.

prior occupation of the country for missionary purposes, which was asserted to have been their intention since the days of Andrada.

With a view to these designs, an Italian Jesuit stationed at Goa named Ippolito Desideri, a native of Pistoia in North Italy, was commissioned to make his way into Tibet and visit the Capuchin settlement at Lhása.¹ In those days travelling in India was a tedious business; and, although Desideri started from Goa in November 1713, he did not reach Surat until January 4th, 1714, and did not get as far north as Delhi until May 11th, 1714. At Agra he found a companion deputed to bear him company, an Eurasian Jesuit priest by name Manuel Freyre.² After a delay at Delhi the pair set out for Kashmir, going thither by way of the Pir Panjal Pass which they did not cross until March 1715. Leaving Srinagar in Kashmir in May 1715, they journeyed through Baltistan by Dras (styled by Desideri

¹ Great expectations were founded on the discovery by Signor Carlo Puin in 1876 of a MS. Journal of 632 pages small folio written by Desideri himself. It had existed for many years in the family of Sig. Filippo Rossi Cassigoli at Pistoia, the native town of Desideri; and is now deposited in the Biblioteca Maglia Bechiana of Pistoia. So far, however, the expectations raised by Signor Puini have not been realised; a short paper published in the *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, December 1900, describing scantily the journey from Kashmir to the borders of Tibet, is the sole result of the discovery. The specimen given, moreover, reveals the fact that the MS. is occupied rather with a disquisition as to manners, customs, geography, and religion than with a personal narrative of adventure and travel. such as one had hoped.

² Il padre Manoel Freyre, che il p. Giuseppe de Silva, visitatore del collégio d'Agra, gli assegnò per compagno di viaggio—*Rivista Geografica Italiana*, December 1900, p. 578.

Dias) and Tashgum and over the Zoji La (styled Kantel) which was crossed May 30th. He designates Baltistan as "the first Tibet;" Ladak being named by him "the second Tibet," and Tibet Proper beyond the Ladak frontier "the third Tibet." To the second Tibet Desideri also applies its proper name of Lhatayul (*i.e.*, Ladak-yul) and describes at length his visits to several forts and the passage of rivers and difficult bridges. "On the 26th of June of the abovementioned year 1715," he writes, "we arrived at the city of Lhè, also with the other name of Lhata, which is the capital of this Second Thibet."—"All this journey," he proceeds to say, "from Kascimir to Lhata, which is one of 40 days, one could not perform in any other manner except on foot. The greater part of the road is along the flanks of the loftiest and most awful mountains and in which ordinarily there is not found sufficient space for one man to pass by another. In certain places the mountain being rent asunder, sometimes by the avalanches of snow, sometimes by the force of the deluge of rain, the pathway becomes wanting altogether and the passenger does not know where to plant his feet. In such cases one of our guides going in front with a hatchet cuts out just space enough to hold one's foot; then, seizing with their left hand my hand, he assists me to put my foot in the hole already made; thence he recommences to excavate a little further on and we advance exactly as before, until at length we find the narrow pathway not altogether obliterated. On other occasions the mountains are

found to be frozen over with slippery glazing and the narrow paths blocked with ice, so that you run the greatest risk of sliding down ; and only the slightest carelessness with your feet would cause you inevitably to be precipitated down the slope and to be dashed in pieces in the torrent which runs below between the two mountains. Many of the natives of Kascimir who perform this journey for the purpose of conveying and fetching back wool often lose their lives and others become miserably crippled. . . . In other places one had each day to travel over the snow and, the weather being very clear, the continuous reflexion of the sun's rays inconvenienced me so far as to inflame my eyes and caused me to run some risk of losing my sight. It chanced that we traversed a deep and narrow gorge situated between two of the loftiest and steepest mountains ; and I, being drawn by curiosity to look up at a huge rock which had the rude form of an elephant, and that not artificially but naturally, my father companion (Padre Manoel Freyre) and all our followers cried out to me in fear—for, hardly had I advanced a distance of 20 paces, than in the place where I had just before stopped, there fell from high up the side of the mountain an enormous and lofty wall of congealed snow which in its fall made a most terrifying crash. In consequence of all this, one is unable to lead or guide any animal through such places ; and the journey from Kascimir to Lhata (Ladak), which is one of 40 days, cannot be performed otherwise than on foot. Likewise the population being

very scanty on this route and those parts being rather sterile and barren, one must be careful to carry with one the necessities of life which are rice, vegetables, and butter ; and these, as indeed all one's moveable goods, have to be borne on the shoulders of men. Finally, from Kascimir even to the end of the great desert (of which we have spoken much already), which is a journey of about five months by road—whether it be night or there be snow or rains or cruel cold and frost—the only inn for wearied travellers is none other than the unsheltered ground.”

Desideri and his comrade, who evidently made no haste on their journey, abided nearly eight weeks in Leh, the capital of Ladak ; and on August 17th, 1715, they resumed their travels eastwards. They passed through the Second Tibet towards the confines of what the narrator terms the Third Tibet. “For some days we traversed country either mountainous or shut in by mountains and well populated ; but, proceeding further on, we reached some spacious plains which in that language is styled *Chang-thang* or ‘plains of the north.’ Such plains are in large part occupied with dead and stagnant waters and are much impregnated with sulphur lying in veins or deposits and full of pools of sulphurous waters. The putrescence of the waters as well as the nature of the foul air are very dangerous as much to wayfarers as to horses and to other like animals ; whilst these occasion both to men and to beasts considerable ulceration to the gums and lips, causing singular inconvenience and

pain and which can even endanger life." On September 7th the party arrived at "un luogo chiamato *Trescij-khang*, dove finisce il dominio del Secondo Thibet e comin- quello del Terzo." This place is undoubtedly Tashigang on the Indus, situated 30 miles beyond the present easternmost boundary of Rupshu and just within the province of Ngari Khorsum in Tibet Proper. Here Desideri seems to have been well received by the Tibetan officials who in those days seem to have had their head-quarters at Tashigang; and he remained apparently over three weeks at the place.

Thenceforward we have at present few details indeed of the lengthy and formidable journey from this point to Lhása. The traveller merely mentions that he made his way first through the great desert of "Ngari Giongar;" and that, having started from Tashigang in the middle of October 1715, he nevertheless did not arrive at what he designates "the first inhabited places of the Third or Principal Tibet" until January 4th, 1716.¹ Eventually he and his companion succeeded in reaching Lhása on March 18th, 1716, that is, they had actually taken seven months for the journey from Leh. There, of course, the pair found in residence the three or four Italian Capuchins whose operations Desideri had in reality come out to

¹ Signor Puini, it seems, has published a summary of the itinerary of Desideri from Leh to Lhása in the *Giro del Mondo* for 1900, No. 9, a publication issued at Bologna; but we have been unable to procure a copy of the periodical.

report upon. On his first arrival, there seems to have been some little friction between the Jesuit and his fellow-countrymen. Desideri, in his letter from Lhása of April 10th, 1716, evidently alludes to this when he speaks of his being summoned soon after his arrival to appear before the Tibetan tribunal on "a certain troublesome business" without specifying of what nature the business was. Presently, however, in spite of the main purpose of his errand, all differences between these brethren, dwelling isolated so far from Europe and of one common faith, were soothed over. When, ultimately, the general dispute, on the prior rights of the Jesuits or Capuchins to the Tibet Mission, came up for settlement at Rome, the amity of their personal relations was admitted on both sides.¹ Desideri while in Lhása was even taught the Tibetan language by the Prefect of the Capuchins. The other Jesuit, his companion Manoel Freyre, did not remain in Lhása. Almost immediately upon his arrival he set off back to India, leaving Desideri to fraternise with the kind-hearted Capuchins.

Desideri does not appear to have gone any further to the north-east than the capital of Tibet; but he made divers journeys or rather excursions to places south and south-east of Lhása, visiting Samye, Chet'ang, Yarlung, and getting even as far south as Phari

¹ "Il Desideri era sempre vissuto nel più perfetto accordo coi Cappuccini, che s'era sentito allargare il cuore al loro arrivo, e che, stando sempre a quel che dice, insegnò la lingua del Tibet al Della Penna stesso" (see note, p. 9 of *Relazione Inedita di un Viaggio al Tibet* per Alberto Magnaghi).

at the head of the Chhumbi Valley. In fact he continued at Lhása and in Tibet quite five years. At length his presence and his restlessness seem to have become a source of worry to the sober Capuchins; and representations sent home finally brought to him in 1721 a peremptory order from Pope Clement himself that he should quit the country. Accordingly in July 1721 Desideri left Lhása and travelling by the Nepal route crossed the frontier at Kuti which he reached the middle of September.¹ Eventually he came down to Agra and returned to Goa. In 1727, however, he seems to have been selected for a special mission to Europe, being assigned to convey from India to Rome "the process of beatification of the blessed John de Britto." Arrived in Rome, he was at once employed to present the case of the Jesuits in their claim to take over the Tibetan Mission. Desideri drew up in 1728 three elaborate *Difese* or defences, running in print to 68 pages quarto, in answer to R. P. F. Felice da Montecchio who presented the case of the Capuchins.² Finally, in 1732, the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith gave judgment; and, while applauding the zeal of the Jesuits, determined the matter in favour of their adversaries the Cappuccini. This decision

¹ *Vide* letter to the Sacred Pontiff dated Kuti, September 21st, 1721, published in *La Rivista Europea*, July 1876.

² Under the title: Alla Sacra Congregazione da Propaganda Fide; Difesa I, della Compagnia di Gesù in ordine alla missione del Thibet, e difesa del M. R. P. Generale della medesima Compagnia, contro le scritture del R. P. F. Felice da Montecchio Cappuccino: Roma (typis Giannini et Mainardi 1728) p. 18. Difesa II, *ibid*, 1728: p. 31. Difesa III, *ibid* 1728, p. 19.

seems to have acted as a sort of death-stroke to Desideri ; for he died a few months after, April 14th, 1733, aged 49.

SAMUEL VAN DER PUTTE (1728—30).

This traveller was a Dutchman and a layman who journeyed into many parts of the East, and his Tibetan exploits have been traced so far as they are ascertainable by Sir Clement Markham. Unfortunately, when in 1737 Van der Putte was dying in the Dutch settlement in Java, he burnt his diaries lest, as he thought, an improper use might be made of them. Nevertheless, certain relics of the adventurous man are still preserved in the Musuem at the Hague, and among these is a rude yet not greatly inaccurate map of Tibet and the adjoining territories. Markham obtained a few particulars of his life and also the loan of the map from a descendant of this Van der Putte still living in Holland ; and Sir Clement in his well-known work on Tibet has reproduced the map in facsimile. Sir H. Yule in his book *Cathay and the Way Thither* had already made slight allusion to Samuel Van der Putte and his travels.

It would seem that Van der Putte entered Tibet *via* Ladak in the year 1728, and, making his way to Lhása, there met with the Capuchin missionaries, as Orazio della Penna refers to him by name. In 1729 the Dutch traveller set forth with a party of merchants bound for Mongolia (Khamsok). He journeyed north-east by north from Lhása, and after several days

he reached Dam, a place visited in recent years by both Bonvalot and Dutreuil de Rhins and not identical as Markham thought with the *Shiabden* of A. K. Making still north-east he arrived on the banks of the Di Chhu, which is the name of the Tibetan part of the Yangtse-kiang and which Van der Putte calls the Bi-ciu, a form nearer to the original spelling than Di Chhu (*i.e.*, Bri Chhu "the female-yak river"). To cross this river the Dutchman avers it took him a day and-a-half, because he was detained on an island in the middle of it. Thence, journeying north, he entered Tsaidam and at length crossing the Humboldt Range reached Sachu in Mongolia. His course afterwards is unknown, but he appears eventually to have got within the borders of China. The remarkable element in his expedition is that the traveller should have undertaken a return journey by precisely the same route that he had come; for he appears to have made his way back to Lhása and to have arrived there at the latest by the year 1730. At least he again was the guest of Della Penna and the Capuchin fathers before their departure the second time from Lhása in 1732; because it is in Della Penna's publications just after this second departure that we find the brief information we have of Van der Putte's journeyings.

CHAPTER IV.

BELIGATTI'S JOURNEY TO LHASA—THE THIRD MISSION OF THE CAPUCHINS TO LHASA— FINAL COLLAPSE OF MISSION.

§1.—THE VOYAGE TO INDIA AND JOURNEY THROUGH NEPAL AND TIBET.

FOR the space of at least seven years, namely, from 1733 to 1740, Tibet was abandoned by the Capuchins, not a single missionary being left either in Lhása or in Takpo. Moreover, the stations in Nepal were given up also from the year 1736 until the same year.

However, it came to pass that the representations of Orazio della Penna di Billi (Horatius Pinnabillensis, as he was officially styled in Rome) proved marvelously successful with the authorities at the Vatican. The Finance Department indeed argued against continuation of the Mission on the old grounds of excessive cost and poor returns. It was urged that since 1705 the sum of 25,000 scudi had been paid out by the Roman treasury and 26 men had been sent forth to the work, while the actual conversions were small; and, however much Della Penna might allege he had impressed the Tibetan magnates, definite figures were what the Mission should be judged by. But, despite the strong opposition of the Jesuit Order to the whole

project, the Pope himself was in favour of continuance and further expenditure; and the Capuchin emissary won the day.

Accordingly, in October 1738, Orazio della Penna with nine Capuchin brethren left Rome for Paris *en route* to the East. He bore a letter and presents from His Holiness to the Dalai Lama, one of the presents being a fine drawing-room clock; and each missionary was granted an honorarium of 80 scudi towards the incidental expenses of the voyage. Among their effects was a printing press with type. All the new friars were accredited as hailing from "la Marca di Ancona," though several came from other parts of Italy. Three of the number, however, belonged by birth to Macerata, a city of La Marca; and one of that trio, Cassiano Beligatti da Macerata, approved himself afterwards the most capable and most literary of the whole Tibetan Mission not excepting even the great Orazio della Penna di Billi. Among the other brethren were Silvio da Brescia, Bernini da Gargnano, Costantino da Macerata, Anselmo da Ragusa (a Sicilian), P. Tranquillo, and P. Floriano. It is to the diligence and ability of Cassiano Beligatti that we owe the narrative of the present journey of the Capuchin party to Lhása.¹ Most, though not all, of the following facts come from him.

¹ The narrative of Cassiano Beligatti was discovered by Professor Alberto Magnaghi in the Biblioteca Comunale at Macerata, the friar's native town. It was a MS. of 203 octavo pages written in Italian; containing also pen and water-colour sketches, for the most part, of deities and sacred ceremonials, together with plans of edifices in Lhása and a map of Nepal

Detained by domestic circumstances, including an operation for lachrymal fistula on Beligatti performed in Paris, the missionaries did not set sail from Lorient, the port in north-west France, until March 11th, 1739. They were bound for Pondicherry and Chandernagore, then as now French possessions in India, and, being too large a party of passengers for one vessel, had to be accommodated in two different ships. The party were not re-united until they arrived in Calcutta on September 23rd; sailing thence together up the Hooghli to Chandernagore on September 26th, where they landed, six months and 18 days since they had embarked at Lorient.

Beligatti describes the trip up the Ganges by boat to Patna with most interesting detail, which, however, it would be out of place to introduce in our pages. Having reached Patna (the second of the stations of the "Tibetan Mission") on December 16th, 1739, they here fell in with the redoubtable Gioachino da San Anatolia who had been the last of the old mission to quit Lhása. Leaving three of the brethren in Patna, a party of eight, including Gioachino, continued the journey on towards Nepal. It was by boat on the

showing the relative positions of the three mission stations of Kathmandu, Patna and Batgao. This MS. proved to be only the first part of Beligatti's narrative, and Signor Magnaghi's enquiries have led him to the conclusion that the second part, relating to the persecutions and break-up of the Capuchin Mission in Lhása, was most probably burnt in a fire which occurred at the Capuchin establishment at Macerata in 1799. Signor Alberto Magnaghi edited this valuable discovery and published it with many interesting notes at Florence in 1902 in the *fascicoli* of the *Rivista Geografica Italiana*.

river Bagmati that they entered the confines of Nepal. Leaving these waters, they "traversed a lofty mountain and found the river Kakoku which had to be forded nine separate times, journeying on through a forest of pine and horse-chestnut." They reached Batgao, where the Capuchins had at a former time fixed one of their stations, on February 6th, 1740; and "the King of Batgao" seems to have welcomed them "*con somma familiarità*." At Batgao the friars remained three months and-a-half, when they left for Kathmandu, now the capital of the whole of Nepal, but in those days ruled by a separate "*piccolo re*." Beligatti estimates the population of Kathmandu in his time at 18,000 families, and that of the adjoining city of Patan at 24,000 families. Here they abided until the rainy season should be passed, not setting out from Kathmandu (where one of their number seems to have been left to continue the Nepalese mission) before October 1st, 1740, when the king suffered them to depart. One of the friars remaining here, the Capuchins for Tibet numbered seven who all proceeded onwards

Travelling north-east, the party crossed rivers named by Beligatti as the *Mono*, the *Koska*, and the *Chikik*, the latter by a bridge 60 feet in length, reaching in two days a place designated *Nogliakor*, a little beyond which they came upon a temple where dwelt a Tibetan nun ("*lamessa*") in solitary state. Here they saw for the first time a large prayer-cylinder which the nun told them she turned 108 times every

morning and 108 times every evening. Thence they journeyed to *Nesti*, *Kansu*, and *Shuskya* or *Shoksam*; whence proceeding due north and crossing and re-crossing a river named by the narrator *Nohota* and *Nohortha*, they arrived at Kuti on the Tibetan frontier on October 17th, 1740. Kuti is the Nepalese name for the Tibetan town of Nyilam or Nyanam Jong, and is described by Beligatti as being situated amidst stony and desolate mountains, and as itself devoid of trees and almost of vegetation. Nevertheless, there were in his time about 100 houses surrounding that of the Jong-pön or Government officer. All merchandise from Nepal must pass into Tibet through Nyilam, and the revenue collected by the Jong-pön is therefore very large.

At Kuti, otherwise Nyilam, mule-drivers were engaged who agreed to accompany the party as far as the valley of Dingri; and a start into Tibet was made November 10th, 1740. By virtue of the passport which had been granted them, they were to receive to a limited extent the benefit of *ula* or free porterage from the villages on the way, also supplies of dry dung wherewith to cook their evening meal.

The party journeyed *via* places named Meshing-zong, Tangye-ling and Yalab and soon reached the mighty mountain range which is mentioned by the other early travellers this way under the same name as that given by Beligatti, that of Lhangur. The pass over these mountains was traversed with misery to the heads and the stomachs of the party which, includ-

ing seven of the Capuchin fathers and two native Christians, seems to have numbered 12 besides 4 muleteers. Orazio della Penna as Prefect took the lead here as in everything, being ably seconded by Father Gioachino, his lieutenant. Descending the northern side of Lhangur, they fell in with the Governor of Kuti at a place named Nyingse. A journey of 16 miles thence brought them into the valley of Dingri, which valley, however, is itself between 14 and 15 thousand feet in general elevation. This shallow valley is described as being three miles in breadth by 15 in length and as surrounded by lofty heights, a rivulet, the Dingri Chhu, traversing it from west to east. It appears to afford miserable sustenance to a few inhabitants and scarcely any supplies were obtainable by the travellers. There was the greatest difficulty in procuring fresh muleteers, provisions and riding beasts; and during the process of bargaining and looking for the necessary animals no fewer than 20 days were, as it were, wasted, first at Dingri Kula and subsequently at Dingri Sora. At length, after having passed the preceding night under a shed in a courtyard in company with pigs and bullocks, they set out from Dingri Sora on December 3rd at midday. They were now fairly on the road to Lhása, the route treading constantly to the north-east and the general altitude continually, but very gradually descending.

The routine pursued on the road to Lhása was the following: "In the morning, on rising with the sun, the tea was cooked and consumed, a process usually

occupying an hour and-a-half. In the meantime, two other muleteers got ready the breakfast for the animals, consisting of one or two huge balls of *satu* made into paste with water and in which sometimes a little saltpetre was mixed. After tea the beasts were driven on and the journey pursued until about noon. On the way the muleteers gave their attention to collecting all the dried dung to be found on the path wherewith another course of tea might be made at midday, and during which the animals would be guarded by being pinioned by the feet to the ground. After this we would go forward until the evening, as far as the place where we ought to spend the night, which was for the most part on the open ground. About an hour before arriving at the place of encampment we riders would scatter about in order to collect as much dried dung as we could, not allowing to escape our sight the least excrement noticeable of cattle, horses, mule, or ass, all being exquisite because dry to cook the tea and the supper. Arrived at the place determined on, we would plant the tent on the site least exposed to the wind; the muleteer, whose was the duty to make tea for us and for the seven men whom we ought to rule, would excavate in the ground two holes to form little ovens large enough to brew the tea and would then at once heap up the fire to make it and kindle the dung. . . . After tea, supper would be got ready and consisted of one piece of stewed meat with broth from which would be made the *topa*¹ that

¹ Really *shuhsa* or *shupa* = broth.

resembled a liquid cutlet in broth. During the time the supper was being prepared we said together matins and lauds for the following day, having done vespers and compline while tea was making on our arrival, which tea was re-made again for supper; each time taking three cups, with *satu* at discretion. For the seven men whom we ought to have ruled, every evening tea was mixed with perhaps 15 cups of *satu* for the whole party together with seven large pieces of flesh of more than one pound each. After supper the muleteers collected the animals and arranged between the barriers made with our baggage and the tent two long ropes with two heavy pieces of iron, within which ropes the beasts were secured from straying. We ourselves slept in the tent where, besides Giovanni and Turi-bazu (the native convert Christians), three other Nepalese who had accompanied us were also accommodated. Notwithstanding we were so well-packed together, we yet suffered great cold during the night, and the most part of the morning we might be found with our beards matted together with the ice engendered by the humidity of our breath. Such was the ordinary routine that prevailed as far as to Lhása."

Inclining always rather to the east, they passed the fort of Tzogor and encamped for the night on the banks of a small river, having travelled only eight miles from Dingri Sora. The next day continuing to follow the river, which is styled by Beligatti simply *un rione*, and which was most probably the Re Chhu, the party that day and the next proceeded to places given as

Ngamba, *Mermbu* (= *Mimbu*) and *Hahar*; and eventually, at ten o'clock on the morning of December 8th, passed a fortress situated on the higher bank of the river, given as *Segar-giun*, but which was in reality none other than Sakya Jong where stands the famous Sakya monastery. There they saw "a long and narrow valley with two branches of the river which wound in and out and by which they journeyed, and peopled with very many castellated houses besides convents of religious and monks perched on the shelves of the mountains." "After a road of eight miles we passed, from the other branch of the river, across a bridge where also we found other castellated houses in one of which we refreshed ourselves; and at evening, after having journeyed 18 miles, we reached the castle called *Tzuenga* where we spent the night." Here they came upon a fairly large river which Beligattistyles "*Bontsutsambo*" and which name probably ought to be written *Puntsho Tsangpo*. Moreover, they now had to decide upon the particular road to be taken in proceeding forward to Lhása. It appeared that there was a choice of three routes to the metropolis from here: (1) that which lay at first due north, the longest of the three; (2) that which led *viâ* Shigatse and down the Yeru Tsangpo; (3) that which went east through Gyangtse, or "*Kianzé*" as it is here written. The decision was in favour of the third route which it was stated would bring them to Gyangtse in nine days (journeying we should fancy at very dilatory pace), but which as a matter of fact consumed 14 days.

Having laid in provisions of eleven sheep and a quantity of *satu* meal to last the party of twelve as well as the drivers and other men as far as Gyangtse, they started from Tzeunga on December 10th, having added to their staff a guide who was to receive as wages his food and ten *mandarmeli*. Following the Puntsho Tsangpo for some miles that day and the next, they then left it and entered upon wide-extending open ground (Ital. *arenario*). In this vast shallow valley they encountered for the first time herds of the Tibetan wild ass or *kyang*, two herds of 19 and 12 respectively being mentioned. The muleteers proved both lazy and gluttonous, and the progress made was consequently less than it should have been. They had been following, since they had quitted the banks of the Puntsho, a rivulet which flowed into the latter; and now crossing over the stream the party entered, on the morning of December 13th, a valley, named by the narrator *Cibulun* (probably *Chiblung*), which was found to be somewhat populated, houses and lamaseries occurring at intervals, the localities in the valley being given as *Tetzin*, *Thedin*, and *Kenga*.¹ Evidently the route *viâ* the Chiblung Valley took the travellers much further south than need have been; and such a detour accounts for the length of time occupied on the journey from Sakya Jong to Gyangtse, quite 15 days,

¹ Not one of these three names occurs in the Trans-frontier sheets of the Survey of India. However, *Chib-lung* ("Valley of horses,") is put in Sheet No. 6 as a valley (with a river of the same designation) running N. E. in and about lat. 28°35' N.; but it is laid too far south, we should fancy, if indeed Sakya Jong has been given its true position in the same sheet.

whereas by the proper course, which on the map is measured as 65 miles, the distance should be covered in four days ! But in those times circumstances may have existed such as may have precluded the direct route.

At Kenga the good fathers tried to bring into operation their travelling way-bill in order to obtain straw for their beasts of burden as well as fuel ; but the officer in command there exhibited a document exempting him and his staff from being requisitioned by travellers for these and other necessities. Accordingly here, as generally, the party had to pay for their wants ; and, indeed, adds the narrator, the passport proved only effective in these ways some six or seven times during the whole journey from Kuti to Lhása ; the reason probably being that it emanated from the Nepalese and not from the Tibetan side.

Proceeding by the same valley in a north-east direction and still observing fortified dwellings and convents, the chief place in the valley, given as *Sungang*, was reached on the 14th instant. The fort lay at the foot of a small ascent and here they found in process of celebration festivities in honour of the fact that on the preceding day the young Panchhen Lama of Tashilhümpo (the "Lhama di Gigazé," i.e., of Shigatse, as he is here styled) was to be brought in state for the first time into his monastery and be formally installed as abbot of the mighty establishment and ruler of the province of Tsang. He was said to be only three years and two months old. Sungang and the whole valley was within the young hierarch's jurisdiction.

Surmounting another low range, they entered the next valley, described as spacious, and still keeping north-east encamped, after eight miles further, within the precincts of a ruined fort. On December 15th, they journeyed 18 miles along the same valley, and so progressed suffering much at night-time from the intense cold. On the 17th, making their course rather more northerly, they ascended over a mountain covered with snow amid which was observed a spring of natural hot water which had attracted them from afar by its volumes of vapour. Some of the muleteers wished the fathers to spend the night surrounded by this novel means of warmth, but the temptation was resisted as it was not yet near sundown, with the result that eight miles more were covered before encamping. Being delayed greatly through the stupidity of the mule drivers and the straying of the animals, they did not start on the 18th instant until noon, when they proceeded as before due north between mountains, compassing only six miles before putting up for the night near a dwelling-house (which Beligatti as usual styles "un castello"—probably from its castellated architecture).

"During both this day and yesterday we had encountered on the way quantities of starlings which, though close by as we passed, would not move aside. We halted without *satu*, and in the houses found only a very little, of the worst quality, and at a very dear price. But to stave off our hunger we were compelled to buy it from the muleteers who re-sold to us that

which: in the preceding days we had given them as rations. Moreover the meat was deficient, because the muleteers would, on the road, be continually cutting off good slices of flesh from the legs of the sheep and eating it raw. Whence in the evening when about to cook them, the carcasses would be always discovered with their legs despoiled, and it could never be found who it was that had eaten the meat.'"

Travelling the next day they met with an official of the Tibetan Government and eight followers, who had been commissioned to close all roads from the west to **Lhása** against travellers in order to prevent the spread of a cattle disease, a sort of influenza named *sbronri*. After some altercation in the ravine with this man, aided by the production of their royal way-bill or permit, the worthy fathers and their party were allowed to proceed—the Prefect Orazio proving a judicious master of argument.

They were now quite close upon the important town of Gyangtse. In their journey thither, however, they seem to have been again conducted not so directly as might have been and to have made a little further to the north than was necessary; for, on the morning of December 23rd, we find them at the place named by *Beligatti Kalon Pronsé*, but really called Dongtse, where now, as stated here in the narrative, there still is, as there was then, a castle belonging to one of the Kalons or ministers of state residing at **Lhása**. This Dongtse lies north-west of Gyangtse. Half-a-day's journey south-east, nevertheless, through a populated

and well-cultivated valley, brought the travellers before nightfall to their destination.

Beligatti's description of Gyangtse as it appeared in 1740 agrees entirely with its present appearance as reported to us by Sarat Chandra Das and by Urgyen Gyatsho. "*Kiansé*" is, he writes, "a fortress very strong for Tibet, being massed together on the summit of a small hill of rocks which is uplifted in the midst of a wide valley. The shelf upon which it stands is surrounded by running water. A little distance from the fortress in the plain lies the city itself which, is fairly populous; also a large monastery of the religious who are more than a thousand in number." Later on he mentions that the head lama of Kiansé presides over two convents there and has 13 other ruling lamas under him.

Several pages of the narrative are devoted to an account of a religious ceremony witnessed at Gyangtse for the burning of *il turma* (the *torma* sacrifice) on the fourth or fifth day of the new moon. The procession started from the temple headed by a body of fusileers "*con alcune banderole dietro la schiena*" and with fusils over their shoulders. "Next followed 16 laymen who each bore a long pole with a kind of trident at the top, under the trident being a horizontal circular plate fringed all round with strips of different-coloured silks; and these marched two and two. After the standards came two monks sounding from time to time trumpets and turning round to the procession whenever they wished to sound them. Behind this

first couple of trumpeteers there followed pairs of religious vested in the cloaks without which they do not officiate in their temple. Six couples of these were clashing large brass cymbals, having two apiece in their hands, much larger than those of Nepal; and these were succeeded by many pairs of tambourines borne by monks habited in cloaks. The tambourines are made of a single circle of wood about eight inches deep and are about two and-a-half feet in diameter; the top and bottom consisting of skins stretched across, and there is a wooden handle one and-a-half foot in length whereby the tambourines are held vertically in the left hand, while they are struck by the right hand with the middle of a thin crooked rod very pliable and having at its head wherewith to strike a small knob of very hard skin. Next to the tambourine beaters came two monks in ordinary garments, who blew two other trumpets of much sweeter sound than the first. These were succeeded by more cymbals and tambourines with other trumpets in similar order as before, until at the middle of the procession strode the Master of the Choir who, with two huge cymbals, regulated the whole time of all the other cymbals, tambourines, and trumpets. Behind the Choir-Master there followed, two and two, a great number of religious in cloaks and with tambourines. After the last of these came three pairs of *Ngaramba*,¹ or doctors of magic, vested in

¹ The general name for practitioners of Tantrik magic is *Ngag-pa*; and *Ngarampa*, really *Ngag-rampa*, are magicians of higher rank.

robes proper to their rank. They each wore a large black hat, round the brim of which was a fringe of black silk ; upon the apex of the hat was a square-based pyramid and on its point a little globe, both being white, and from the globe there issued two red serpents uplifting themselves to sting a small death's head fastened by a spike which, passing through the skull, held together the globe and pyramid. The hat was firmly tied on by a strap under the chin. They wore also a skirt of black stuff, much pleated, descending almost to the feet ; and above this a sort of tunic of black Chinese satin figured in gold with numerous leaves, a *dorje*, and a large representation of a human skull ; over the tunic was a hood cut in a star of four points, two of which ran over the arms, one in front over the breast, and the other down over the shoulders. These *Ngamba* (sic) danced continually like lunatics, though in harmony with the music. . . . The *Ngamba* were followed by six incense-bearers with large silver censers, like ours, except that they were much bigger and were not swung about, all burning perfume. To the incense-bearers succeeded other monks in ordinary habit, who carried on a square tray the *Turma* or sacrifice. This was a cone of paste raised in the centre of the tray to a height of about three feet, having a basement also of paste about half-a-foot thick, and immediately above the base issued out foliage of coloured butter which was twined on to the cone. Just at the four corners of the tray were affixed four wands, the tips of which were inclined

directly above the apex of the sacrificial cone, where they formed a pyramidal figure; and all the wands were decorated with large leaves in butter variously coloured. At the point of this pyramid was placed a round plate from which inside was suspended a handsome silk veil forming a sort of baldacchino over the pyramid; above this baldacchino was a skull of paste with two reddish serpents, the skull being transfixed by a pin passing down perpendicularly so that its point was imbedded in the *Turma* cone below.’’

Eventually the cone of paste was deposited on a tripod in an open space in front of the temple. Here a lama with two assistants, surrounded by the members of the procession, performed various rites before the *Torma*, offering grain in a small silver chalice and pouring out beer. A hymn instrumentally accompanied having been sung, the procession re-formed and the *Torma* was carried outside the town to an appointed place. There, the lama having again gone through further invocations and libations, the *Ngaramba* advanced to the tripod on which was the sacrificial cone and proceeded to kick it over with their feet. The cone having fallen on a yak-skin spread behind it on the ground, was knocked to pieces, the fusileers discharged their blunderbusses, and then all returned to the monastery ‘‘confusamente e senz’ordine.’’

Still remaining at Gyangtse, the worthy fathers were able there to keep their own little festival of the Holy Birth, *i.e.*, Christmas Day, celebrating mass for the

first time since October 4th. They had intended continuing their journey the next day on the morning of December 26th ; but the muleteers had suffered the animals to stray into forbidden pastures and they had been impounded. However, Father Gioachino, being well-acquainted through his former term of residence in the country with both Tibetan customs and the language, soon procured the restoration of their property.

On December 27th at noon they started from Gyangtse, making good way to the extent of 12 miles before camping on the banks of a large branch or affluent of the Nyang Chhu. Journeying to the east, mention is made of two places stayed at *en route*, namely, *Lhamak* and *Lamentutungh*, which are unidentifiable with any localities named in our maps of these parts. On December 31st, the well-known station of NAGARTSE—still an important stage to Lhása—was reached, situated at the south-west corner of the Yamdok or Palte Lake, on the shore of which they encamped, having a naked mountain on their left hand and the lake on the right. The worthy Beligatti here makes the ridiculous statement that this famous sheet of water is 360 miles in circumference and that it occupies 18 days for a traveller to journey round it

Mention is now made of the great Dorje P'agmo, who rules the monasteries in these regions, and who dwells in the convent of SAMDING hard-by, where the party was now encamped. "Two days before our arrival at the lake the Lhamessa had set out for Lhása.

The Tibetans have for this Lhamessa the same veneration as for the Grand Lama, believing her to have taken form from a spirit of *Chang-chub*. When she goes out she is always under a baldacchino and is preceded by two mules, upon which are strapped two incense-pans, wherein monks burn perfumes continuously. She lives celibate, having made a vow of chastity; notwithstanding which, about 5 years previous to our arrival, she had brought forth a Lhamessina, which fact—in spite of the great diligence exercised—they had been unable to prevent being made public. This for a little while had cooled the veneration for her, although now she had brought again to her feet as before not only the regards of the Tibetans, but also of the Nepalese who resided in goodly number in Lhása for commercial purposes; these last recognising in the Lhamessa *Turche-pamo* their own *Bavani*, and therefore once every year they went in a body to make her large offerings.”

The narrator goes on to relate how that, although they were unfortunate enough to miss seeing this great lady now, nevertheless during her stay of three months in Lhása they obtained an interview with her, which he here describes in detail. He then adds: “This Lhamessa, after having remained in Lhása more than three months, was permitted by the Grand Lama and the King to return to her convent; whence on arrival, she wrote to the King, to her brother and to others, averring that the journey she had made and her long residence in Lhása had so greatly unsettled

her spirits that she intended shortly entering upon spiritual exercises in which she estimated she would continue for three years."

On the 1st of January 1741, the fathers quitted the neighbourhood of Dorje P'agmo's monastery and set out, skirting the shores of the lake for some 14 miles, and camped at evening just beyond the castle of PALTE JONG. In the morning next day, following the north-east coast of the lake for 4 miles further, they reached the foot of the mountain KAMBALA and, leaving the lake to the south, ascended due north over the pass. "The summit of this mountain is desolate and, as void of all vegetation as the highest passes ; but beyond the grey rocks may be seen wide stretches of sandy soil. We noticed, when passing with our horses over these same spaces of soil, that there issued forth a deep echo from the tramping of the animals as if they were treading upon a huge barrel. Desirous of satisfying curiosity we got off our horse to see if the same effect was produced in walking on foot and found, as we struck the ground with more or less force, the booming was returned more or less sonorously." The narrator adds that, on his return journey from Lhása two years later, finding the same effects, he concluded that the reverberation arose from the profound depth of the valley (of the Tsangpo) beneath and not from any subterranean caverns.

Having descended the steep northern face of Kambala, they pitched their tents in a little plain at the foot ; and on the 3rd inst., having made a further slight

descent, they came right into the valley along which flows the far-famed YERU TSANGPO, called in these pages the *Tzanciu*. "We journeyed along the bank of this river the space of 3 *kos* (6 miles), now mounting, now descending between large grey rocks, and finally arriving at the place of embarkation where the river is crossed to the other side. By virtue of the King's passport, we, the animals, and all the baggage were readily transported across; and after the river had been passed we were invited by a *Deba*, who was treasurer of the Grand Lama, to lodge in his house, which we accepted and were treated with all propriety according to the custom of the country."

Reverting to their passage over the river and having remarked upon the strength of the current, Beligatti proceeds: "The boat in which we crossed this river is flat-bottomed, and it is able to carry over 15 or 16 persons at a time. The boat is adjusted by a thick rope to a good-sized pulley-wheel, which runs along a cable which is stretched aloft from one bank to the other of the river; and by such means is the boat kept up against the impetus of the current. This same river has, at the narrowest point, a chain bridge of great length consisting of a flat chain of 500 double links, each link more than a foot long; but the danger is that it has no side chains and connecting bars of iron under these, like those in Nepal. Instead of these subsidiary chains there are only ropes moderately thick made of straw, upon which is placed a narrow pathway of boards unevenly put down; while the ropes

in places were much worn and rotten rendering it now almost useless as a bridge ; and, even if it were in good condition, it would be inconvenient to traverse because of its great curvature and the swinging motion of the chains.''

Having passed the night in the house of the treasurer of the Grand Lama, the party journeyed up the right hand bank of the Kyi Chhu which tributary of the Yeru Tsangpo (as Professor Magnagh points out) Beligatti evidently mistook as being part of the course of the Tsangpo which he had only just crossed. Spending that night at a place given as *Tzelen*,¹ the next morning, January 5th, the Prefect, Father Orazio della Penna, accompanied by Father Floriano, pressed on ahead of the others in order to prepare the hospice at Lhása for the new comers ; the bulk of the party, following later in the day, reached *Tulon*² in the evening. Next day they all entered the sacred city, the arrival being very briefly described.

§ 2.—THE SOJOURN IN LHASA AND FINAL COLLAPSE OF THE MISSION.

Notwithstanding the fact that a period of 7 years and 4 months had elapsed since the last departure of the Capuchin Fathers from Lhása, the Prefect Orazio and his new staff seem to have been able to resume residence in the old hospice formerly occupied.

¹ Really Dzeling situated about 20 miles from Lhása.

² Really Toilung, a place with a long bridge and a river, a tributary of the Kyi Chhu ; is about 7½ miles distant from Lhása.

The present narrator relates little concerning the progress and private affairs of the Mission, but devotes his pages to describing certain visits made to public functionaries as well as the various religious pageants witnessed by himself during his own brief stay in Lhá-sa. His account of their early adventures opens thus :—

“A few days after our arrival the King finished his spiritual exercises and gave public audience in the garden adjoining his palace of *Kanda Kanzer* where he resided. This garden is enclosed by walls, and within it are some hundred stunted trees forming a small confused wood. Here the King admitted us to his presence and received us with the greatest affability, appearing to be pleased at our arrival. All were presented with a fine *kadak*, which each one received in his own hands. When the Prefect had given replies to the many questions concerning our journey put to him by the King, he made known to the latter that we had brought from Rome a letter from the Sovereign Pontiff as well as one from Cardinal Belluga, which, however, we should not desire to present to him immediately, until the translation should be made and until there had arrived from India some other things later and which might be annexed to the letter. The King seemed gratified at the news, and told the Prefect he was to suit his own convenience in preparing the translation.

“We paid this visit to the King in our European garments, and the Prefect asked the King if it would

meet with his approbation that we should dress ourselves in blue-coloured clothing, as we found the colour of our European habit did not prove durable—to which he readily assented.

“ There were with the King his two sons ; the elder, Kong Kusho, who at Kuti had given us the allowance of 20 *Ula*. He had been nominated by the Emperor of China as successor to the *kingdom* (really the regency) ; but the younger was more fitted for this association with his father who had dedicated his first-born to religion, and this he had done notwithstanding that the latter had two wives and children, although he had been vested with the lama's habit. The younger son, who was already a general of high rank in the army and at the head of a large force of Tartars, was a warlike man, resolute and fiery.

“ Together with ourselves there had been admitted to the audience some Chinese officials of the Chinese chief who resides at Lhása ; and these spoke to the King, by means of an interpreter. At the close of the reception the King caused the present, styled *themo*, to be made to the Chinese and to us. Then came in two long rows of *Ola* preceded by two *Drogniere* (pronounced *donyer*, ‘ receiver of guests’ or steward) or masters of the chamber of the King. One of the latter deposited the present in front of the Chinese gentlemen ; the other in front of us. Before the Father Prefect and Father Gioachino were placed 6 wooden platters each, one of Indian sweetmeats, another of sugarcandy, another of dried

apricots, another of dates, another of almonds, and another of raisins. Besides the platters of dried fruits, there were also 6 dishes full of pastry made of flour and fried in oil or butter, and a sheep apiece. In front of each one of us five who were newly arrived (in Tibet) were placed a platter of raisins and 3 dishes of pastry-cakes. The Chinese were treated with greater distinction than ourselves. This reception took place in the afternoon of the 11th of January.

“The morning of the 12th we paid a visit to the Kalons or Ministers of State who welcomed us courteously. Hastening from the Kalons, we were conducted on a visit to the Chinese Resident. We were kept some time before admission at the outer gate of the palace (which is the best in Lhása), being detained by the lengthy inquiries of their interpreters concerning our state and condition. When we had been admitted, we were again kept in an outer apartment and finally introduced to audience. The Chinese Resident (styled by Beligatti *il Capo Cinese*), who was a fine young man of about 30 years, was seated in a chair, having a little table in front of him; while a score of Chinese, who were made room for on one side or the other, sate all at his feet. On entering his presence we presented to him a *kadak* from each of us, which were received for him by the master of the chamber who caused us to sit on the ground upon certain strips of Chinese silk placed for us some distance from his table.¹

¹ Friar Orazio and his brethren of the Capuchin Order appear to have practised at Lhása a deportment much more conciliatory, not to say obsequious,

Motioning us to be seated, he addressed us through an interpreter who, having listened with one knee on the ground and clasped hands, then rose to his feet to tell us what the Capo had said in the Chinese language and repeating it in the Tibetan tongue. Having demanded of us of what nation we were, and we having responded that we were *Kiami* or Europeans,¹ he made many demonstrations of friendliness, telling us through the interpreter that he greatly esteemed Europeans with whom he had been acquainted in China, also that he knew our custom was not to sit on the ground like the Tibetans, but in chairs as the Chinese, and that if we desired it we could be seated in chairs which were inside the hall—for which we expressed our thanks.... After some conversation, he told us to go into another room, whither we were conducted by the interpreter and other Chinese. Here we found prepared four very small tables on each of which were 6 plates of sweetmeats and dried fruits. At one the Father Prefect was made to sit, and at the other three two of us to each table; the interpreter informing us that the Capo wished us to take breakfast. This began with a small glass of cold spirits (according to the Chinese usage); after which there were brought to us a bowl of cooked rice and 8 plates, each

than that followed by the two Lazarist missionaries 100 years later in the same city. Father Huc, however, assures us that he and his fellow traveller assumed the high-handed *rôle* on principle both with the Chinese and with the Tibetans.

¹ *Kiami* really *Gya-mu*, indicates in Tibet a Chinaman and also a native of India; not Europeans who are styled *Philing*.

of meat, herbs, etc., all cold, each having a Chinaman that waited on us. We ate a little, and seeing that we desired no more, the spirits were replenished; and to this succeeded a cup of specially-fine tea, which, having drunk, we returned to the hall where the Capo was. We thanked him for the honour he had done us, and he renewed the offer he had made us that we should remember to come to see him another time, and he caused to be placed on the neck of each one of ourselves a large and long *kadak*, which hung down almost to the feet after the fashion of a stole. This was a special honour, and we were suffered to depart. We issued forth from the palace and traversed nearly the whole length of the piazza with that scarf on the neck, that it might be seen that the Chinese at head-quarters regarded us not as vagabonds; and so thereafter were treated with respect wherever we were met.

“Amongst other old friends of the fathers in Lhása was the incarnate lama *Semba-cembo* (really Sempa Chhenpo, “The great Sattwa”). He was a man most affectionate towards us and universally beloved and respected in Tibet although he was by race a Tartar, not only because he was an incarnate lama and *Changchub*, but also because of the great affability with which he treated, without any distinction, all men—even the poorest, as well as because of his being a great almsgiver. Nevertheless, with regard to religion, he was himself a most thorough atheist. This lama, concerning whom we must speak again elsewhere, not only received us courteously, but

treated us as if we were of the same rank as himself. Moreover, a little later, he made it a habit to come to see us at the hospice almost every evening. Here he would stay to take tea and to converse with us on domestic matters, entering into each little chamber, and inquiring if anything was needed by us which, if he perceived it to be, he would at once send it us.

“To this lama the Father Prefect applied to procure for us a teacher of the language, which he promised to do; and in the meantime he obtained one from the incarnate lama *Settni-rimboce* (*Ts'e-nyi Rinpochhe*). The other one from his own estate, distant by road from the capital about 3 months' journey, would be brought into Lhasa; and we conceived for him much affection. Having a teacher we began to learn the language from the first elements and to ascertain how to pronounce well the letters. Besides which I had my medical studies, not wanting in fatigue from morning till evening, or had to dispose of the sick who in considerable numbers came every day for inspection, or else to make up compounds of drugs under the direction of Father Gioachino.

“At the end of January there arrived from Kuti some Nepalese traders, the greater part of whom were seriously ill from the severe cold experienced on the road. Among these was a youth of 18, whose hands and feet the cold had frost-bitten, whence gangrene had ensued. It was not possible to save his life; wherefore on the 7th of February he died. The Nepalese had cast his body into the river, from which certain

Tibetans hastened to rescue it searching along the banks of the river. Having got it, they detached the head from the body in order to make from the skull a bowl to eat and to drink out of, a custom followed by the *Retroba*, a religious community of the *Urchien* sect, who are practisers of magic.

"Father Gioachino had come into Tibet, not to remain there, but only to instruct me in medicine and then to return to Europe with the replies of the King and Grand Lama to the Pope. Accordingly, during the few months we remained together, he sought to give me, not only a knowledge of the medicines appropriate to that climate, but also familiarity with such persons as were his friends. With this object on the 11th February we two went to pay a visit to *Talebador* or *Se Kasciod*, second son of the King, and in his house we found also her who was his sister. Both received us with cordiality more as intimate friends than as strangers; they entertained us upwards of two hours in familiar conversation; they gave us tea; and the sister, by way of paying a particular compliment, put with her own hands the *tsampa* in our cups. To please them we had to come again the following day when they treated us with the same familiarity.

"The 13th instant both of us visited *Kong Kusho*, the elder son of the King, who shewed us similar cordiality but with more gravity, perhaps to sustain the character of a lama-elect whose garments he wore. He received, moreover, both offerings and worship like

other lamas and shared their rewards. Nevertheless he desired that we should stay and dine with him. He made us tea with five plates of dried fruits and confectionery, such as dates, a species of quince, and raisins, besides a large bowl of meal. At the same time the dinner was brought in. It comprised a large wooden dish on which was half a sheep braized and stewed, another dish with a quarter of dried sheep, also another containing a large slice of raw yak flesh, together with a score of myrobalan spherical in shape styled *aula*. All this huge dinner was set out upon an uncovered sort of stool about a foot in height, 2 feet in width, and 3 feet in length. Catching hold of the shoulder of mutton in his hands, without the aid of any other instrument, he separated it into two portions, and through his servants invited us to have one piece each. The constraints under which we had endured so long a journey had imparted to us the stomach of a Tibetan, that is to say of a fine hog. Accordingly it was by no means difficult for us to overcome our repugnance to eat the cooked flesh so rudely severed apart; also the *satu* made into a paste with water and rolled into a ball with his own hands after rending asunder the meat. However, the dried and raw flesh we refused; and, after having eaten a little of that which had been cooked, we were obliged to wrap up the remainder in a handkerchief and carry it to the hospice, together with the paste and the fruit and the great honour of having dined with the eldest son of the king and heir to the kingdom."

It will be thus seen that at first Beligatti kept a minute diary of the various interviews and spectacles which occurred during the early days of his residence in Lhása. As this close record becomes a little tedious, we will now, for a space, proceed to summarise the narrative. On February 13th, a lama from the great convent of Moru, which is situated in the extreme north-east corner of Lhása and near to which, so Beligatti informs us, the Capuchin hospice was located, asked them to pay him a call. He then invited them to be present the next day at the Moru monastery to witness a fantastic religious ceremony in the course of which 24 monks appeared wearing monstrous masks representing a bear, a leopard, a pig, a stag, etc. Further particulars need not be here introduced, as this kind of mummers' dance is familiar to all who have visited Darjeeling or Leh or other Himalayan station where Tibetans are in residence. Beligatti mentions that the same ceremonies were performed that same day (February 14th) at Potala in the presence of the Dalai Lama, the "King," his sons, and the magnates of the city.

February 16th that year (1741) corresponded with the Tibetan New Year's day or the first day of the first new moon in their calendar, this new year being styled the year of the Iron Fowl. It was of course a festival, and friends made and returned visits to utter good wishes and drink tea, beer, and *arak*. The Chinese Resident also paid a formal call at Potala to felicitate the Dalai Lama; and the King held a levee.

Their next interviews were with the father of the Dalai Lama, with *Turcé-pamo* (Dorje P'agmo), and two incarnate lamas. On February 28th, the visit to the father of the Dalai Lama was repeated. "He was an old man upwards of 70 years of age and of singular stature, being seven-and-a-half feet in height, of robust build and well-proportioned. In his youth he had been a novice in the monastery of *Brhebo* (really *Daipung*) whence, because of his poverty, he was expelled. Incensed at this treatment, being a man of great deceit, he left the monastery the husband of three young Tartar women, all sisters. The predecessor of the present Supreme Lama being then at the point of death, it came to pass that the new Lama was destined to be reincarnated from one of these three wives, all of whom were abandoned a few years later in order to marry a Tibetan, which woman also not long afterwards had to yield up her bed to two other Tartar females. Furthermore, these last wives, just before the revolution of 1727, of which this man himself was the leading promoter, gave place to two daughters of the prime minister of that time who was called *Kalon Pissi*. On account of the murder of the King, all the conspirators were exemplarily punished by the Chinese; he himself being summoned before the Emperor of China, whither he was conducted chained together to his two new wives. He was, however, again permitted to return to Lhása; but the King would not allow him a permanent residence in the capital, though the Emperor's decree left him at liberty

to select a dwelling place of his own choice. He selected a fine valley towards the east (chiefly because it would be within reach of Lhása, only three days' distance from there by road), having leave to go and stay for a month (any time ?) in Lhása."

Next in the narrative many pages are devoted to a full description of the celebration of the great *Monlam* (styled here *Mollam*) festival at Lhása, supposed primarily to be a period of prayer lasting 23 days, but really for the bulk of the people a time of licence and excitement. It commenced on the sixth day of the new year, February 21st, 1741, and on this the first day were nominated all who were to take official part in the ceremonies "*dentro laprand*," as the writer erroneously terms it, meaning really "*within the Labrang*," i.e., within the Government offices in the great central temple of Lhása. Having given an account of the first institution of the *Monlam* by Tisri, the famous Gyaltsab or "King" who hid from the public for 12 years the fact of the death of the Dalai Lama, he details at length the ceremonial items of each day. The Dalai Lama proceeds to a cell in the upper storey of the Chokhang temple and is assisted by the Lama of Galdan. The Capuchin friars, or at least two or three of them, were enabled to watch the leading proceedings through the partiality for their society of that somewhat disreputable personage the father of the present Dalai Lama. His house abutted on the great square, or rather circular space, where the central temple (the *Cho-khang*) and the Labrang buildings

are located ; and from that position Beligatti and his friends had a good view of all that went on. We extract from the account one remarkable item in the programme of events.

“There came forth 60 Nepalese on horseback followed by about 40 *Azarra* or pious Hindus who were rich merchants, also on horseback, and clad in Chinese brocade. After these came 56 Musalmans of Kashmir who have large workshops in Lhása, likewise riding, but in their ordinary attire. There followed eight laymen on horses, clad in Chinese brocade, bearing four pairs of standards or banners, each pair of a different pattern. Other horsemen came next carrying various emblems of gilded wood, to whom succeeded tambourine and trumpet bearers ; and these were followed by all the governors of the different provinces, the *Deba-mi-pou*,¹ in robes of office according to their respective ranks. After these came the *Chiokyong*² in ordinary monks' robes but clean, and, by way of distinction, having a red cowl and the collar turned back with skins of the marten. Next to the *Chiokyong* came all the monks of *Putalá* in robes of yellow brocade, followed by the four Ministers of State with their staff. The Ministers of State were clad respectively in scarlet, red, green, and yellow European broad-

¹ *Sde* = a district ; and *Depa* or *Depa-mipo* = district officer.

² *Chhos-skyong* sounded *chhoi-kyong* “protectors of the faith” are popular astrologers at Lhása. Prof. Magnaghi quotes from Orazio della Penna where he mentions that they are elected by the people in the presence of the Grand Lama, the King, and the Court. But this statement, we believe, applies not to the general body of *chhoi-kyong*, only to such special sanctities as the *Nechhung Chhoi-kyong* and one or two others.

cloth. Two horses followed, richly caparisoned, bearing on their backs two huge censers of silver in which perfumes were burning, and each horse led by two religious who held it by the bridle. Then came other two horses more richly equipped than the first, having on their backs each a casket or urn of gold ; in one of which I was repeatedly assured was the skin of a horse into whom Shakya-t'ubpa had been once upon a time transmigrated ; in the other I could not understand what was enclosed. These two were likewise led by the bridle by four handsomely-attired monks. To these succeeded 12 horses profusely adorned which drew the equipage of the Grand Lama, being each connected with the load by a long cord of red silk descending on both sides of the animal nearly to the ground, and which was festooned from its shoulders to the root of the tail—each horse led by two religious. After the equipage proceeded the Supreme Lama himself, vested all in cloth of gold and with his *Tscemba* or mitre likewise of gold from the lower brim of which descended a black strap or lace resting on the tip of his nose and suspended from each temple. His horse was led by the mane by a pair of monks arrayed in yellow brocade. Astride the horse next behind that of the Grand Lama was the King, habited in pearl-coloured silk with his cap adorned with a long skin Tartar-fashion. On his left was the father of the Grand Lama clad in violet brocade. Behind these came the two sons of the King ; the elder riding between the younger son (the military generalissimo) and the

brother of the Grand Lama (having the same father and mother as he); and they were followed by all the Court marching in military fashion five horsemen abreast and terminating the procession." Having recorded the bestowal of various alms by the Grand Lama to all monks assembled for the Monlam, the narrative continues: "On this day the monks assembled numbered thirty thousand; consequently the greater part were obliged to sleep in the middle of the streets, and that notwithstanding the most intense cold which prevailed."

We must now close our extracts from the diary of the worthy Capuchin; his further notes belonging rather to an account of manners and customs than to a relation of events; his own pages, too, ending abruptly a little later. The history of what befel the Mission presently has always been very obscure; and Beligatti's narrative contributes little to its elucidation.

We can gather a few facts from his statements here and from other sources. It would seem that Father Gioachino da San Anatolia (who shared with Della Penna the honour of the longest service in Tibet) was despatched in May 1741 to Europe to inform the Roman authorities of the safe arrival of the band of missionaries in Lhása and as bearer of complimentary replies to the Pope's letters from the Dálai Lama and King. This aged monk reached Rome in 1742; and, until recently, this was all that was known in public concerning the further history of the Mission. Della Penna in his missive home by the hands of Gioachino

spoke only of successes and said nothing of threatened troubles. It would appear, however, that in the very month of Gioachino's departure, a first persecution broke out against the fathers. This occurred only four months after the arrival in Lhása of the fresh body of workers. The Tibetan priesthood viewed with growing disfavour the patronage of the missionaries by King Mi-dwang and by others in high places. "Moreover the ferment went on gradually increasing, until one fine day several hundreds of Buddhist priests, gathered from the different convents of Lhasa and the neighbourhood, invaded the royal palace and upbraided the King for his partiality. The latter, being terrified and dreading to meet the fate of his three predecessors, declared forthwith that the fathers had fallen from his favour; he enjoined them to preach no more in Tibet except to traders that came from beyond its confines; and at the same time he caused the converts ('neofiti') to be searched for and had them exposed in the Chinese wooden collar, while the few of these who were unwilling to recite the watchword of the ancient faith he caused to be bloodily flogged. Whereupon the missionaries, though formerly well received, became the laughing-stock of the people and could no longer appear in public without being exposed to ridicule and insults. Nevertheless, they omitted not to resort to all those means which zeal and prudence suggested to them, but they always reaped only scanty results."

At length, as matters grew no better, it was hinted to the disheartened Capuchins by certain of the more-

friendly-disposed among the Tibetans, that perhaps if their band were reduced in number, it might soothe the lamas and cause them to deem them too insignificant to be molested. As Gioachino had departed, the European missionaries in Tibet were now six in number, one of whom was generally absent in the out-station of Takpo, far to the south-east. It was decided to reduce their staff in Tibet to three, and to despatch the other three back into Nepal. Those selected to return were Cassiano Beligatti, Father Costantino, and Father Floriano. Accordingly on August 13th, 1742, one year and seven months since their arrival in the city, Beligatti and his two brethren started from Lhása, reaching Dingri September 26th, and Patan in Nepal early in October.

The Father Prefect, Orazio della Penna, now enfeebled by years and labour and disheartened by ill-success, still remained on in Lhása; his companions being Anselmo da Ragusa and Giuseppe Maria Bernini da Gargnano. Though their efforts relaxed not, their influence continued to wane; and, considering that the logical purpose of their sojourn was to overturn Buddhism in this its main centre and stronghold, they could hardly expect the Tibetan authorities, who derived their position solely from their religion, to continue their patronage, even had they cared to brave the ill-will of the monks. Reluctantly they made up their minds that the time had arrived to abandon the work. Even Della Penna, who had given his whole life to the one object of establishing a strong Christian

settlement in the capital of Tibet, had at length to acknowledge himself defeated ; though it broke his heart to do so. And as we shall see, as his hopes departed for ever, so the man, already and almost at once, began to fade and to die. "Beholding themselves hedged in on every side, they decided to depart, so much the more as they were assured that the King had ordained that no other missionaries were to be permitted to cross the frontier and that he wished to make delays until the Prefect—already failing through advanced age and the fatigues of 33 years of mission-work (of which 22 had been passed in Tibet)—should be dead, in order that then he might banish the others. Eventually, the King having granted permission to them to preach only on condition that they should declare the Tibetan religion to abound in goodness and perfection, they determined to start even at once." Thus it came to pass that, two years and eight months after Belligatti and his two comrades had left, the remaining three missionaries, the prematurely aged Prefect and his faithful subordinates, bid good-bye forever to the capital of Tibet and set out on the return journey to Nepal. The date of their departure and of the conclusion of the Capuchin Mission in Lhása was April 20th, 1745.

The sad little party crossed the frontier in safety and reached the Mission hospice at Patan in Nepal on the 4th of June. Some six weeks later, namely, on July 20th, 1745, the broken-hearted Orazio della Penna di Billi, Prefect of the Tibet Mission, breathed his last. He

was buried in the little Christian cemetery then existing at Patan, and a sorrowful inscription in Latin to Horatius Pinnabillensis was placed over his grave. He was 65 years old ; and had laboured to the end.¹ Just after his death, came the news from Lhása that by the orders of the professed friend of the fathers, King Mi-dwang, the whole of the Mission premises had been levelled with the ground.

Thus tragically ended the famous Christian settlement in the capital of Tibet. It had lasted 38 years. But in name the Tibetan Mission continued a precarious existence in Nepal until 1768, first under Cassiano Beligatti as Prefect and then under Anselmo da Ragusa. At the time of the great revolution under the Gurkhas it disappeared ; but Beligatti long before that had moved into Bengal. He translated the Gospel of St. Matthew into Hindustani and compiled a Sanscrit grammar. Finally he returned to Italy in 1756, and nearly 30 years later he departed this life in his native city of Macerata, in the Capuchin convent of that place, in the year 1785. A less reliable authority avers that Beligatti died in Rome in 1791.

¹ In 1895 we wrote to the Resident in Nepal begging him to discover the cemetery and look for Della Penna's grave. He replied that even the site of the cemetery was now unknown.

CHAPTER V.

ENGLISHMEN ENTER TIBET—BOGLE, TURNER AND SAUNDERS, MOORCROFT, MANNING.

MR. GEORGE BOGLE (1774—75).

By this time England had begun to take up her great position in India, and her sons were drawn even at that early period to speculate as to what lay to the north of the grand ranges which cut off the Indian Peninsula from the rest of Asia. Warren Hastings it was who personally designed the establishment of friendly relations with the Grand Lamas of Lhása and Tashilhümpo; the latter ecclesiastic at this period being the famous Purang-gir, and he was believed by Hastings to be the sovereign of that unknown realm. Indeed so vague was Hastings's geographical information concerning Tibet that, in several of his letters, he seems to consider it one with Bhutan and gives it the name of "Boutan."

At any rate, early in 1774, Warren Hastings selected a young writer of the Honourable East India Company bearing the name of George Bogle to proceed on a semi-political mission to "Teeshoo Lama," as the ruler of Southern Tibet was styled in those days in Bengal. This ruler of that portion only of the land was then, as now, really the Panchhen Rimpochhe of

Tashilhümpo, a great monastery at Shigatse, the capital of the Province of Tsang, who is *ex-officio* temporal governor of the province as well as chief ecclesiastic therein. Bogle, who was only 27 years old, was entrusted with presents and State letters both to the Deb Raja of Tashi-chhoidzong (styled "Tassisudon") in Bhutan and to "Teeshoo Lama." A Mr. Alexander Hamilton was commissioned to accompany the expedition as surgeon; and, thus fully equipped, the party set out from Calcutta in May, 1774.¹

Proceeding through Bengal, by way of Kuch Behar and Buxa Duar, direct into Bhutan, they arrived at the capital of the latter country, Tashi-chhoidzong, on June 14th. There Bogle was detained for four months, which space of time he passed not unprofitably in collecting information concerning the government, religion, and commercial products of Bhutan. As evidence of the sagacity and keen interest with which Hastings prosecuted all his enterprises, it may be mentioned that he had given express injunctions to his agent to plant potatoes at various stages on his journey. This Bogle did in many places in Bhutan; and the potato (*shoko*) is now a common vegetable in that land. Leaving "Tassisudon" on October 13th, Bogle journeyed north-west to the Tibetan Frontier which was crossed by a low pass 15 miles south-west of Mount Chomolhari. On October 22nd, the first Tibetan

¹ The M.S. diary of Mr. Bogle's journey has been for many years in the British Museum Library. C. R. Markham was the first to print it in full. There is, moreover, a large box in the India Office labelled "Bogle Papers," as yet, we believe, unexamined.

town Phari was reached, and there the travellers halted four days. Having witnessed the ceremony of offering oblations and worship to Mount Chomolhari, the party marched northwards to a large frozen lake to which Bogle assigns the name of Shamchupelling, and which is probably identical with the Ram Ts'o of our maps. They found it ran mainly north and south, in which direction it extended 18 miles. Game was plentiful there, but they were forbidden by their Tibetan conductors to shoot any, because the lake lay "within the liberties of the goddess of Mount Chomolhari." They now traversed the banks of a river, the Sham Chhu, effluent from the lake. This was in reality the early course of the Penam-nyang River which flows first north-north-west, and then north-west to join "the Tsangpo" at Shigatse. By November 3rd, the party had travelled to Gyangtse (called by Bogle "Giansu"), but they were advised to make no halt in the town itself. Accordingly, they passed beneath the castle and through the streets, much interested in all they saw, but did not stop. The next considerable place was Penam Jong, which, it is worth noting, was estimated by Bogle to be a larger town than Gyangtse.

They had learnt that Teeshoo Lama had not been resident in the great Tashilhümpo Monastery for the last three years, in consequence of the prevalence of small-pox at Shigatse. He was dwelling in a religious house on the northern side of the Tsangpo near Chamngam-ring. Thus, after quitting Penam Jong, Bogle

diverged from the Shigatse route and turning north-east crossed the great Tsangpo into Lhása territory. The travellers estimated the famous river as being in size about the breadth of the Thames at Putney. Thence they entered a branch-valley which came down into the Tsangpo valley from the north, and traversed the sandy banks on the east side of this affluent keeping due north. After a journey of 25 or 26 miles in that direction, they sighted Cham-ngam-ring situated on the summit of a hill on the other or western bank of the river. It had a small town at its base built in the form of a square and enclosed with walls. Having forded the river, they passed under this town up a little cross-valley, when they reached Deshi-rib-gyal where the great lama was residing. The date was November 8th, 1774.

The astute ecclesiastic who then governed the Province of Tsang was Purangir, who is celebrated now as the ablest man who has ever filled the office. He was both a statesman and a literary scholar, and he seems to have struck up a warm friendship for young Bogle. A month after the Englishmen's arrival the Court moved back to Tashilhümpo; and Messrs. Bogle and Hamilton followed in the Grand Lama's train. Having been installed in apartments in close proximity to the great man's chambers, much intercourse ensued. Bogle made the acquaintance of several important personages, such as Dorje P'agmo, the incarnation of the Tibetan goddess of that name, who was lady abbess of Samding Monastery on the shores

of Lake Yamdok, also with two youths or "princes" whom he styles the Pyn Cusho (really *Pün Kusho* = "my lords, the brothers") and who seem to have been related to the Grand Lama of Lhása.

Bogle left Tashilhümpo on the return journey to India in April 1775; and after his arrival in Calcutta he even despatched several letters to his friend the Teeshoo Lama. He had planned to proceed on a second mission from Hastings into Tibet; but, unfortunately, death claimed him an early victim when only 34 years of age. He was the first of his nation to cross the Tibetan Brahmaputra.

However, the idea of opening steady political relations with Tibet was not lost sight of. Warren Hastings, to whose ever-burning desire to extend British influence the idea was due, next took a singular step with a view to furthering his project. He sought to increase the facilities for intercommunion by actually establishing a small Buddhist temple at Howrah near Calcutta, to be used by any Tibetan traders who might be visiting (which they did then, as now, every winter) the capital of the Company's possessions! Bogle's great lama at Tashilhümpo even transmitted thence to Howrah several images and Tibetan books to furnish the new fame. This same shrine, curious to relate, was accidentally re-discovered in 1887. It was then found to be still in a certain condition of active existence, and its origin was suggested by the name it still bore, that of *Bhot Magán*. The Tibetan books, still there, being examined, proved to be some

of the ponderous works of Tsongkhapa ; but the gods of the place were now being worshipped by Hindu devotees as Hindu deities. And so it continues at this day : the Buddhists have been and are still ousted from the shrine which Hastings specially designed for their attraction and use.

TURNER'S EXPEDITION.

In 1783 Lieutenant Samuel Turner was despatched by the indefatigable Governor-General on a mission similar to that of Bogle. The old lama ruler of Tsang had just died, but he had been succeeded by an infant one year old according to usage, and Hastings would fain be early in the field with an embassy of congratulation. Decisive as this step was, the mistake was again made of listening to the traders from Tsang and so supposing the Tashilhümpo lama to be the genuine monarch of Tibet, when in reality he was inferior in sanctity and sovereignty to the Dalai Lama of Lhása to whom Hastings ought to have despatched his missions. In that way it was, that China in the 18th century gained the position of ascendancy which might have been obtained by the Government of India.

Turner, like Bogle, was accompanied by a surgeon, Mr. Thomas Saunders, as well as by another officer as subaltern, one Lieutenant Davis. The last-named, however, did not proceed further than the capital of Bhutan. Taking a route identical with that pursued by Bogle's party, the expedition did not reach the Tibetan frontier until September 1783. Although he passed so near to Mount Chomolhari and had received

special training in surveying, Turner seems to have made no attempt to ascertain the height, or to fix with any accuracy the position, of this most important mountain. Indeed the expedition took all things in a leisurely and easy manner. The weather was warm and the party being well received as travelling under authority had no cause for anxiety; and do not appear to have felt called upon to adopt the rôle which gives such unremitting toil to modern explorers—that of taking endless observations and of collecting and recording all things. They were travelling at Government charges and evidently were determined to have an enjoyable outing.

Turner seems to have made no halt at Gyangtse, or *Jhansu-jeung* as he terms it, though it is the principal town south of Shigatse and an important trading-centre. However, on September 20th, he passed through the streets of the place; threw some silver coins to the beggars; and, leaving the great monastery unvisited, kept up the river valley, making north-north-west. Taking an ample repast at Dongzee (really Dongtse), the party pursued its journey to Dukgue (*sic*), which lies off the river, to the west. There the night was spent and the route by the riverside resumed in the morning. For the first time Turner observed a boat on the Nyang. It was formed of leather stretched over a skeleton of wood; and he thought it exactly similar to the coracles he had seen in use on the River Wye in Monmouth. Arrived at Penam Jong, they saw a fortress and a rude bridge of

tree-trunks laid across the river on nine piers of piled-up stones. This was a large place; but Turner and his camp pushed on to Tsondue, 23 miles from Dukgue and only ten from their destination. The next morning, September 23rd, just as the sun was rising, they came in sight of "Teeshoo Loomboo," now known to us all as Tashilhümpo. "If the magnificence of the place was to be increased by any external cause, none could have more superbly adorned its numerous gilded canopies and turrets than the sun rising in full splendor directly opposite. It presented a view wonderfully beautiful and brilliant; the effect was little short of magic. We ascended by a narrow street through the middle of the monastery and were conducted to very splendid apartments, bright with gay colours, in the centre of the palace. At the instant of our entrance we heard the deep tone of many sonorous instruments, which were summoning the religious to their morning orisons."

Although Tashilhümpo, together with Shigatse, the lay-town adjacent to it, is the capital of Tsang, the chief Lama, the Panchhen Rimpoche, was not then in residence. In fact he was, at that time, but an infant of 20 months, and was still dwelling with his parents at some distance from the seat of Government at a place named Terpaling. Thus the travellers did not just then have any interview with the baby chief, but rested content with the negotiations which could be freely and effectually carried on with the real ruler, the Regent of Tsang, himself a great lama of the

Tashilhümpo Monastery. They resided two months at the capital. This time was consumed by them in paying and receiving visits, in exploring Shigatse and the adjacent great monastery, and in accumulating such information as came within easy observation. No attempt seems to have been made to cross over to the territory on the northern bank of the Yeru Tsangpo—the Brahmaputra as Turner not incorrectly believed it to be—and thus to penetrate nearer the true capital of Tibet, the city of Lhása. The position of Tashilhümpo was calculated by Turner as in lat. $29^{\circ} 4' 20''$ N., long. $89^{\circ} 7'$ E.—an observation of considerable accuracy, the position as now accredited being lat. $29^{\circ} 16''$ N., long. $88^{\circ} 55'$ E.

On December 2nd, 1783, Lieutenant Turner, Mr. Saunders, and their attendants set out from the capital on their homeward journey to Bengal. But they had arranged to take Terpaling Monastery in their way, in order to have a glimpse of the infant prodigy who was nominally the ruler of Southern Tibet. On December 4th the interview was accorded, the sacred little man being placed on a cushioned altar four feet high to receive them and tended on either side by his admiring parents. Turner described the audience here given him very minutely in a letter to Warren Hastings now preserved in the MSS. department of the British Museum, too lengthy, however, for quotation. Quitting Terpaling, a rapid march southwards ensued. On the southern lake Ram Ts'o some halt was made to indulge in a few hours' skating; but,

otherwise, the party did not linger and made direct for the Bhutan frontier-line. Having visited the Deb Raja at Punakha, they found themselves by New Year's Day 1784, already on the plains of Bengal.

Turner, notwithstanding the huge quarto he published, proved himself to be a less reliable and less industrious observer than George Bogle.¹

THOMAS MOORCROFT—HIS FIRST EXPEDITION.

The exploration of that part of the Himalayas bounding, and also protruding into, Western and South-West Tibet occupied the attention of the scientific spirits in the Indian services at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1802 Colonel Crawford measured many peaks. In 1808 Lieutenant Webb with Captains Raper and Hearsay explored that portion where amid the Milam glaciers the rivers Ganges and Jumna take rise. The former, also, measured from stations on the plains several of the highest peaks of

¹ Turner's subsequent career was curious. After his adventures in Tibet he was voted 500 guineas by the Court of Directors, and his learning being well thought of, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and other learned bodies, though the narrative of his journey did not appear until 16 years after his return from Tibet. In 1792, as Captain Turner, he distinguished himself at the siege of Seringapatam and was presently despatched on a political mission in considerable state to the Maharaja of Mysore, where he remained as Resident. In 1798 he left India for England, having done exceedingly well for himself and amassed a large fortune. His end, however, was sad. He was seized one night in December with a fit of apoplexy in a low street in London; and, having no papers about him to indicate his name or place of abode, he was conveyed to a workhouse in Holborn. Here he was eventually discovered by his friends who deemed it, however, not safe to have him removed. Ten days later, on January and, 1802, poor Turner died in Holborn workhouse in his 43rd year only. He was buried in St. James's Church, Piccadilly. His book was published only 1½ years before his death.

Garhwal and West Nepal on the Tibetan frontier, such as Diwalagiri and Jibjibya. Colonel Kirkpatrick continued the work. These, however, did not penetrate over the lofty passes into Tibet itself.

However, in 1812, Mr. Moorcroft of the Indian Civil Service obtained, at his own earnest request, a commission from Government to cross the great chain of the Himalaya to the north of Almora with two definite purposes. One was to procure genuine samples from the herdsmen of Hundes of the wool from which the celebrated Cashmere shawls are made, and the other to survey the sacred lake of Manasarowara, which lies at the foot of Mount Kailas between the sources of the Indus and the Yeru Tsangpo (Brahmaputra). At the village of Josimath, which is far within the mountains, Mr. Moorcroft hired a pundit as the companion of his journey, with the stipulation that in walking he should make every stride precisely four feet in length; by which means it was intended to ascertain the space travelled over. Our travellers' path lay along the banks of the Dauli, a torrent falling into the Alakananda. The glens were clothed with forests of pine; and, above, the mountains reared their summits covered with perpetual snow. From the narrowness of the paths, the abruptness of the slopes, and the quantities of snow and stones which were occasionally precipitated down, the travellers were kept in continual alarm. After a fatiguing journey of seven days from Josimath, Moorcroft and his companions arrived at Malari, a small village in the midst of the mountains.

The houses were built of stone, and ornamented round the upper stories with flowers and mythological pictures, after the Hindoo fashion. This village forms the summer habitation of a little horde, who carry on a trade between Tibet and India, conveying their merchandise on the backs of sheep. In winter these folk remove to their *giñkha* quarters to the northern side of the mountains. Having reached Niti, the last Indian village, the party surmounted the Shangki Pass and gained the elevated valleys of that part of Guge known as Hundes to Cis-Himalayan tribes. A journey of ten days further brought them above the valley of the Tibetan course of the Sutlej to the camping station of Daba. By Moorcroft the river was not recognized as the Sutlej which was not in those days suspected of flowing here. Although the travellers had entered Tibet without permission, both the Jongpön and the head lama of Daba treated them with much kindness. Moorcroft relates how the chief of the *gelums*, as he terms this lama, took hold of one of their cotton gowns at their departure, and said, "I pray you, let me live in your recollections as white as this cloth." On leaving this place the party travelled for some time through valleys bordered by mountains, on which the snow was occasionally falling. A journey of five days brought them to Gartok, which Moorcroft styles Gortope, which was an encampment or village composed of a few black tents of blankets fastened with hair ropes. The plains round the village were covered with prodigious multitudes of goats,

sheep and yaks. It appeared to Moorcroft that their number could not be less than 40,000. As Mr. Moorcroft came in the character of a merchant, and appeared willing to give a good price for the fine wool, he was treated here with respect and attention. He received permission also to visit the lake of Manasarowara, but with the condition that he should return as he came, over the Niti (or Shangki) Pass. From the Tibetan merchants of Ladak he received information respecting the geography of this little-known country considerably at variance with European maps, yet not sufficiently precise to correct them. A river flowed through Gartok, which Mr. Moorcroft, in the first instance, hastily supposed to be the Oxus ; but further information and reflection led him to think it a chief and perhaps the main branch of the Indus.

Our travellers arrived on the 5th of August 1812 at the sacred lake of Manasarowara, which they now found to comprise two large sheets of water divided by an elevated isthmus two or three miles in breadth. The eastern lake was about fifteen miles long and eleven broad, and with its borders of towering crags, and its surrounding barrier of lofty mountains wrapt in perpetual snow, it formed a magnificent scene. Several small monasteries were scattered along its borders, into one of which Mr. Moorcroft was invited to enter. His health was so much affected by the length and fatigues of his journey, that he was unable to complete his survey, so as to ascertain whether any rivers flowed out of this or the adjacent lake, or if any stream con-

nected the two sheets of water. On August 8th, the party set forth to the south and reached Almora the end of the month.

LHASA REACHED BY AN ENGLISHMAN—
THOMAS MANNING.

Within the small literary circle radiating round Charles Lamb and his sister was a queer fellow who had done well at Cambridge but who, through his patent eccentricities, owned scarcely a friend. His name was Thomas Manning, a native of Norfolk and when in the last year or two of the 18th century he was wont to visit the Lambs in their London lodgings, his hobby was the study of the Chinese language. To such a pass did the avidity of Manning for Chinese hieroglyphics grow that nothing would at length suffice him but to start off to China itself. He obtained, through the influence of Sir Joseph Banks, a passage to Canton and a permit of residence from the East India Company, who had in those days a factory there. Thus he quartered himself in the very thick of Chinese life in that city. This was in the year 1807 when Manning was about 34 years old. Having stayed in Canton over three years, he there conceived the idea of penetrating into Tibet. Accordingly, early in 1810 he arrived in Calcutta full of the project; wearing, moreover, a flowing beard of singular length and dressed in semi-Chinese costume. Such unconventionality of aspect did not serve to recommend him when he applied to the Indian Government to be despatched

on some sort of official mission into Tibet, and his request was refused. "Fools, fools, fools," he exclaims in his diary later on.¹

Manning, nevertheless, was not to be daunted. He had taken a six months' course of medicine in a London hospital and was fairly conversant with Chinese, a language of weight in Tibet; and, on the strength of those attainments, he determined to make a private adventure into the mystic land. Leaving Calcutta, he journeyed to Lakhi Duar on the Bhutan border and crossed into Bhutan in September 1811. Travelling slowly and remaining some little time at Paro, it was October 20th before he found himself over the Tibetan frontier. At Phari Jong he was detained, and would probably have been sent back; though, as it seems, the modern policy forbidding the entrance of European travellers had not yet been adopted. However, at this stage, Manning encountered a Chinese *mákpon* or general, and having medicinally treated certain Chinese soldiers of the great man's escort he became of importance. The Chinaman was proceeding to Gyangtse and he agreed that Manning should accompany him and even wrote to the authorities at Lhása to obtain permission for the Englishman and his Chinese servant to go on to the capital. This Chinese servant, it may be at once mentioned, had been brought by Manning from Canton in the capacity of teacher,

¹ To Mr. (now Sir) C. R. Markham belongs the credit of having first given to the public the full details of Manning's journey by printing the diary of this traveller in his interesting work on Tibet, issued in 1876.

interpreter, and courier; but he proved himself a perfect bane to the traveller and utterly useless, and one is struck by Manning's constant forbearance towards the fellow.

Amicably the party journeyed up the valley of the Penam River to the trading town of Gyangtse. Manning and the General had considerable intercourse, the latter particularly admiring the Englishman's beard, the length of which—"of tapering shape descending in one undivided lock"—he averred was an augury of a great future.

Arrived at Gyangtse (styled by Manning "Giansu") a halt of 16 days had to be made there; the Englishman, meanwhile, being visited and feasted by the Chinese residents of the place. Here, also, he began to gain acquaintance with the Tibetan folk, engaging in medical practice among them and having much freedom of intercourse accorded him. Permission to proceed to Lhása having at length been sent, Manning had now to part with his friend the General and to travel on to the capital in the company of only his sulky courier and a Chinese cook. Journeying north to Dongtse, they thence turned abruptly east and wound in that direction among a sea of ice-bound mountains until they had reached the great Yamdok Ts'o, the Palte Lake of their maps. They appear to have approached the southern shore of the lake *via* Nangartse Jong; but we are at a loss to understand how they could have circled N. N.-W. round the waters before gaining Samding Monastery. It is Samding to which

Manning is evidently referring when he describes it as "embellished by a lofty massive castle the residence of the magistrate who, they said, was a woman and of whom they complained as capricious and tyrannical." This woman is the well-known incarnation of Dorje P'agmo, and Samding where she rules is situated at the junction with the shore of an isthmus of rocks leading to the great central island of the lake.

Rounding the lake northwards to Palte Jong, the travellers surmounted the Khamba La range and descended into the valley of the Tsangpo, the bed of which, Manning noted, was in level much below the level of Yamdok Lake just quitted. The crossing of the mighty river is graphically alluded to. "We descended to the sandy shore and found a large ferry-boat to waft us over the stream whose width here was considerable. We all went over together—men, cattle and baggage. The reminiscences occasioned by the boat brought upon me a fit of European activity. I could not sit still, but must climb about and lean over. The master of the boat was alarmed and sent a steady man to hold me tight. I bent my head over until it touched the waters; and pointing to the ornamental prow of the boat assured them I could sit there with perfect safety."

Thence the party made along the right or west bank of the Kyi Chhu, a tributary of the Tsangpo which joins it at the ferry. In a march of less than two days, a place named by Manning "Litong" was

reached, and they were within seven miles of Lhása.

The travellers were now about to enter the capital of Tibet—Manning the first Englishman who had ever done so, and also the first European to enter since the Capuchin friars were expelled in 1745.

“As we approached I perceived that under the palace on one side lay a considerable extent of marshy land. This brought to my mind the Pope, Rome, and what I had read of the Pontine marshes. We passed under a large gateway whose gilded ornaments at the top were so ill-fixed that some leaned one way and some another, and reduced the whole to the mock appearance of castles and turrets in pastry-work.¹ The road here, as it winds round the palace, is royally broad. It is level and free from stones and, combined with the view of the lofty towering palace, which forms a majestic mountain of building, has a magnificent effect. The road about the palace swarmed with monks; its nooks and angles with beggars basking in the sun. My eye was almost perpetually fixed on the palace and, roving over its parts, the disposition of which being irregular, eluded my attempted analysis If the palace had exceeded my expectations, the town as far fell short of them. There is nothing striking, nothing pleasing, in its appearance. The habitations are begrimed with smut

¹ This gateway is known as Pargo Kaling and is really a very large *chhörtön* or chaitya with a lofty vaulted passage through it—what is sometimes styled “a two-legged chhörtön.”

and dirt. The avenues are full of dogs, some growling and gnawing bits of hide which lie about in profusion and emit a charnel-house smell; others limping and looking livid; others starved and dying and pecked at by the ravens. In short everything seems mean and gloomy, and excites the idea of something unreal. Even the mirth and laughter of the inhabitants I thought sounded dreamy and ghost-like. A few turns brought us into a narrow by-lane and to the gate of a courtyard where we dismounted. Mounting a ladder, we were shewn into the room provided for us." The date of arrival was December 9th, 1811.

Manning speedily entered into the *genius loci* of Lhása, visiting and being re-visited by the Chinese denizens at first; but not till later indulging in sight-seeing or in intercourse with the Tibetan notables. He was, however, continually thwarted by his arrogant servant whom, unfortunately, he suffered to exercise considerable control. He began medical practice and he confesses to experiencing much pleasure in feeling the pulse of a pretty Tibetan girl!

The English traveller was eager to visit and make salutation to the Dalai Lama of Lhása, who dwelt then as now in the palace already referred to by him, on the summit of Potala. Permission being given, armed with a present, he was introduced into the audience-chamber of the lama king, who was then a child only seven years of age. He was given tea to drink, and knelt to be blest by the little monarch who laid his hands upon his head, and then put to him the usual

questions concerning his health, journey, and country. Manning indulges in an enthusiastic description of this boy-head of all Northern Buddhists :—

“He had the simple and unaffected manner of a well-educated princely child. His face was poetically and affectingly beautiful. He was of a gay and cheerful disposition. His beautiful mouth was perpetually unbending into a graceful smile which illuminated his whole countenance. Sometimes, particularly when he had looked at me, his smile almost approached to a gentle laugh. No doubt my grim beard and spectacles somewhat excited his risibility. Nevertheless, on another occasion at the New Year’s festival (when watching from a corner his reception of various persons) I have seen him smile and unbend freely.” In a later note Manning adds : ‘I was extremely affected by this interview with the Grand Lama. I could have wept through the strangeness of sensation. Very happy to have seen him and his blessed smile. Hope often to see him again.’”

We must here bring our reference to Manning’s adventures to an abrupt close. Suffice it to say that, after a sojourn of four months in the sacred metropolis, he left Lhása April 6th, 1812, and arrived at Kuch Behar, in Bengal, at the foot of the Himalayas, June 10th. The indefatigable traveller eventually, and indeed very soon, returned to England ; but he survived his adventure many years, departing this life in September 1840, aged 68. The MS. of his travels was for many years in the hands of his nephew the

Revd. C. R. Manning, Rector of Diss, Norfolk ; but he died in 1900.¹

MOORCROFT'S SECOND JOURNEY AND AFTER CAREER.

Some 12 years later, Moorcroft was again employed by the Indian Government on exploring work under the guise of trading transactions. This time he was despatched into Kashgar and Turkestan to buy horses for military purposes and on other business. He took with him a certain German named Trebeck ; but, as the expedition did not enter Tibet, we are not concerned to trace their course. We will merely mention the one overwhelming particular that, presently, namely in 1825, word was received from Trebeck that his companion Moorcroft had died during these transactions on the road between Bokhara and Balkh. His end in its details was wrapt in obscurity ; and the account as well as the actual occurrence itself rest wholly on the assertions of his companion whose *bond fides* we have reason to view with distrust.

At any rate, the French traveller Father Huc has a very different account of the after-career of Moorcroft to reveal to the public. According to Huc, the latter did not die on the Afghan frontier in 1825 ; but made a secret journey eastward with only one servant. From information collected by the French priest in the capital of Tibet itself, Moorcroft was alleged to

¹ Shortly after this gentleman's demise the MS. of Manning's travels passed from the family into the hands of Mr. Bertram Dobell, a well-known and literary bookseller of Charing Cross Road, London, with whom we believe it still remains.

have arrived in Lhása—as was thought, from Ladak—in the year 1826. He was described as a man who (as was Moorcroft's way) wore the Musalman dress and spoke Persian with so much facility that the Kashmirian merchants of Lhása were themselves deceived. He hired a house in the town where he lived for 12 years with his Musalman servant named Nisan, whom he had brought from Ladak, and who himself believed his master to be a Kashmiri. Moorcroft, under the pretext of inspecting the herds he had bought and which were pastured in the vicinity of Lhása, went freely about the country, making drawings and preparing geographical charts. It was also asserted that, having never learnt Tibetan, he abstained from holding direct communication with any people save the Kashmiri residents. At length, having dwelt 12 years at Lhása, Moorcroft set out to return to Ladak and India in 1838, but was assassinated somewhere in Ngari Khorsum on the way back. The authorities of Lhása hearing of the deed arrested the robbers and recovered Moorcroft's property, amongst which were found his plans and maps. Hence it was concluded he was a dangerous foreigner. The Abbé Huc assures his readers that when he heard this story in Lhása he heard then Moorcroft's name for the first time.

CHAPTER VI.

FATHERS HUC AND GABET—THE BROTHERS STRACHEY—DR. THOMSON'S WORK—SIR JOSEPH HOOKER IN THE HIMALAYAS.

MESSRS. HUC AND GABET'S VISIT TO LHASA.

THE most successful Tibetan exploit of the 19th century was the famous journey of the two Lazarist fathers, Huc and Gabet, from North China through Mongolia to the Tibetan frontier and thence to Lhása. We must refer all who have not read the narrative to the Abbé Huc's book itself, as we cannot attempt to give even an epitome of the adventure. We shall only briefly summarise the route taken and the result of the expedition : the sensation caused by the success of the undertaking is matter of history. Starting from Siwang, a small village a few miles to the east of the now well-known post-station of Kalgan in July 1844, they journeyed north-north-east to the Mongol town of Dolon-nor. Thence turning south-west, they went by very slow stages through the Chakar country and Toumet to the town named in our maps Kwei-hwacheng which Huc denominates by its Mongol name Kou-kou Hote (really Kōkō-hotūn). A lengthy tour to the west along the south-east confines of Mongolia brought them at last to Tankar whence they took up

a residence of some months in the neighbouring monastery of Kumbum. Joining a caravan later at Tankar, the pair of missionaries succeeded in reaching Lhása, which was entered January 29th, 1846. In Lhása they dwelt two-and-a-half months, opening an oratory in their house and, according to the narrative, even making a few converts to Christianity. Although protected by the Desi or Regent of Tibet (Shehda), the two fathers were soon sent forth from the city by the influence of Kichen, the senior Amban or Chinese Resident. Leaving Lhása March 15th, 1846, they travelled back to China by the shortest route, *i.e.*, that due east, and arrived at Bathang the end of May and at Ta-chien-lou early in June.

We may here insert a few personal particulars concerning these interesting travellers. Evariste Régis Huc, the author of the narrative, was a native of Languedoc in Southern France, having been born near Toulouse, August 1st, 1813. Having entered the Lazarist order he was despatched in 1838 to Macao to be trained as a missionary of that body for work in China. In 1840 he went to Canton and thence travelled to Peking, where he joined the mission to the Mongol Tatars established at Siwang outside the Great Wall. After his great Tibetan feat in the years 1844-46 he returned to Siwang and there wrote his famous book of travels. In 1852 he was recalled to France, but on the way home stopped in Ceylon whence he wandered through India, Egypt and Palestine. On reaching in 1853 his native country, Huc was employed

by the Propaganda, which recognised his special talent, on literary work. He wrote *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith in China* and *The Chinese Empire and Christianity in China*; but his real literary vein was mainly that of personal narrative, and these works fell tamely from the Press. He remained in Frante and died at the early age of 47 on March 31st, 1860.

Joseph Gabet, the colleague of Huc, was an older man, having been born in 1810. He joined the mission in 1836. He seems to have ended his career in South America, having been despatched in 1859 to the Brazils, whence his death was notified in 1863.

Mr. W. W. Rockhill states in his *Land of the Lamas* that Samdadchiemba (*Bsam-dad Chhe-ba* "Increasing faith"), who accompanied the travellers on their memorable journey, was still alive in his native valley in 1890.

Another of the interesting personages connected with these travels was the Regent who befriended the French priests while in Lhása. He was, as it appears, really an enlightened and remarkable man; and Sarat Chandra Das has collected some particulars concerning him.¹ His real name was Pishipa and he rose by industry and genius from a lowly position, and being eventually adopted by one of the Kalons of Lhása named Shehda, he took his patron's name himself. Then, having married his master's daughter, he presently succeeded to the same rank, and at length

¹ *Vide* preface to *Yig-kur-nam-shag* by Sarat Chandra Das (published under the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal), Calcutta, 1902.

became Regent. He was (as Huc also avers) a literary man as well as a statesman. He died five years after the Frenchmen's visit.

THE STRACHEY BROTHERS.

Just after the return of Messrs. Huc and Gabet from their pilgrimage in Eastern Tibet, attention was directed to the equally-unexplored districts of Western Tibet by the smart trip of a British officer in India over the Himalayas and to the shores of the mysterious waters known as the Manasarowar lakes. This officer was Lieutenant Henry Strachey of the 66th Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry.¹

Western Tibet is bordered on the west by Ladak, Rupshu and Nubra, now dependencies of the Maharaja of Kashmir, and on the south by the British-ruled Himalayan States of Spiti, Lahoul, Kulu and Garhwal. This portion of Tibetan territory (with the exception of the desolate plains in the northern part which fall under the general designation of *Chang-thang*) is known as the province of Ngari Khorsum "the three circles of Ngari;" and that province is officially made up of the districts or "circles" of Rudok, Guge, and Purang. It was into Guge, the south-west circle, that Mr. Strachey made his expedition returning through Purang. His objective was one or other of the two lakes which lie side by side in the heart of the Gangri or Kailas range of mountains. These lakes, collectively styled Manasarowar, have been ever of mythological

importance not only in Buddhist, but anteriorly in Brahminic, times; the eastern member of the pair, Tsho Mapang, being the more sacred of the two. It was the western lake, Tsho Lagran or Rakas Tál, that the officer succeeded in exploring, but it is separated from the other sheet of water by only a narrow isthmus of land two to five miles across. This other lake Lieutenant Strachey saw, though his fear of discovery prevented him descending actually to its margin.

Lieutenant Henry Strachey set out on his expedition in September 1846 with a guide and baggage coolies. He started from the well-known hill-station of Almora near Naini Tál, which still remains the best point to begin a secret expedition into West Tibet. The route therefrom passes *viâ* Pitoragarh and the valley of the Kali river, which is followed up to Kangwa, just above Garbyang, by the right bank. Here the river separates into its two main feeders, the northern one of which is taken, and thence the Lipu-lek Pass into Tibet (altitude 16,800 feet) may be gained. It was by this route that Colonel H. B. Tanner went in 1885, when by quick marching he was able to get as far as Takla Khar on the Karnali river before the authorities were apprised of his movements. He reached, thus, within some 23 miles of the famous sheets of water. Strachey, however, does not recommend this way, as it lies through country comparatively well-peopled. He approves of the route *viâ* the Mang-shang La which, though a Pass much higher than Lipu-lek and heavily-snowed, leads in Tibet through an uninhabited yet

not difficult region, and by the shortest road to the lakes. Strachey himself took a Pass near the Mangshang but further north—the Lang-byang (or Lankpya) La, 18,150 feet in height ; but that caused a considerable detour when Tibetan ground was reached. This, moreover, was the Pass by which Mr. Savage Landor entered Tibet. The route to both these last-named Passes strikes off from the Kali eight miles above Garbyang, turning north-west up the Kunti Yangti valley.

The great heat in the low valleys after leaving Almora and the deep snow cumbering the track higher up caused Strachey's party such delay that the foot of the last ascent to the Lankpya Pass was not reached until 30 days from leaving Almora. On October 1st, 1846, they found themselves over the Pass and quite within Tibetan territory, in that part known as Hundes to the natives of the Western Himalayas. On this date Strachey records : "I have now experienced what Moorcroft relates on one of his mountain passages in Ladak, the moisture of the breath freezing on to the pillow at night, which has also taken some of the skin off my blistered face." They first passed north-west along the valley of the Darma Yangti, a small river in a wide flat-bed which flows at length into the Sutlej. Beyond the crest of the Himalayas, where so much snow had been met with, the country soon became very open, and little, if any, snow was now encountered. The next day they left the Darma Yangti to their west and, a mile to the east, reached a

spot called Lama Choktan. Here they had a good view of the country northwards: "The north-west horizon is bounded by the Gangri range of mountains moderately tipped with snow and remarkable for the deep purple-blue colour of their lower rocky parts; and about the middle of this range rises the snow-capped Peak of Kailas somewhat higher than the rest of the line. I do not believe these mountains are nearly so lofty as the main ranges of the Indian Himalaya." To the north-east in a low plain, Strachey observed a conical hill 10 or 12 miles off, called Gya-nyima, where once was a fort and still in summer a mart where Bhotias from Byans and Darma meet Tibetans to exchange with them grain for salt. From Lama Choktan they gradually descended, journeying northward, a thousand feet, and encamped in a side ravine from the main valley.

On October 3rd, leaving the ravine (known as Chujya Tal) they continued over difficult country, passing up and over the divisions of various valleys and seeing a good deal of verdant pasturage with numbers of hares, deer, and *kyang* (wild asses). They met several bodies of shepherds minding their flocks, and Strachey was disgusted to discover the rank cowardice of his own men who were Bhotias of Garhwal. The following day the explorer realised that the maps then current placed the lakes they were journeying to much further to the west than should be, and that Mangshang La, east of the Lankpya La, would have been the better Pass to have chosen. They had had to

bend their course, in consequence, much to the east in order to make the southern shore of the Rakas Tál. About 9 A.M. Strachey had the pleasure of sighting a western corner of this lake, and presently he came in full view of the waters. He gives a rapturous description which is worth a quotation :-

“ The main peak of Kailas, now beautifully developed to its very base, was seen on the extreme left of the range (so far as visible to us) and, over the low hills in the middle of the far-away eastern shore of the lake, a streak of bright blue showed a distant glimpse of Manasarowar. The water of the nearer lake was of the clearest brightest blue, reflecting with double intensity the colour of the sky above ; while the northern horn of the water, overshadowed by the wall of mountain rising above it, was darkened into a deeper hue partaking of the fine purple colour that distinguishes the rocks of Gangri. Fresh breezes broke the surface of the water into waves that rolled upon the shore. The surrounding hill-sides, though very bare of vegetation, were tinted with many shades of red, brown and yellow, happily varied with the margins of verdant grass in other parts of the shore ; and bright sunshine spread a warm glow over the entire landscape, divesting it of the cold barren aspect that might be supposed inseparable from these intemperate regions. The beauty of this novel scene appeared to me to surpass anything that I had seen on the south side of the Himalaya.”

The party now made north keeping Rakas Tal, otherwise Tsho Lagran, on its left about half-a-mile distant.

After three miles a halt on the lake-side under a low hill-spur was called for luncheon. Boiling-point observation yielded 15,250 feet as the height of the waters above the level of the sea. Strachey found this a delightful spot: "quite a little sea—long waves rolling on the shore close under our feet, and, as far as could be seen, the whole face of the water was freshened into the *ανηριθμον γελασμα* of old ocean." He adds: "There might be glorious sailing here if the Lama of Gangri would keep a boat, which might be made with pine or fir imported from Byans."

Continuing substantially to the north along the western edge of the northern horn of Rakas Tal which now rapidly narrowed, Strachey reached the extreme north-west point. Here ought to have been the reported outfall of the early course of the Sutlej, but all that was found was swampy ground interspersed with puddles. The ground north-westwards from here sloped, however, in that direction, and a certain amount of filtration from the lake through the porous soil may form the beginnings of the Sutlej, whilst at extreme floods the lake itself probably overflows the margin at this point. The early waters of the river are mainly formed, in Strachey's opinion, from the drainage of the deep ravines immediately west of Mount Kailas. The Darma Yangti is also a considerable contributory, joining the Sutlej below Tirthapuri. The Darma Yangti is the Chhu-garh of Moorcroft.

Turning now eastwards along the northern shore of the lake, Kailas became a most striking object rising

two or three miles distant straight out of the plain. The south-west front of this famous mountain is in a line with the adjacent range, but separated on either side by a deep ravine, the base of the mass thus isolated being between two and three miles in length. The principal peak, a dome of paraboloidal shape, was estimated by the explorer to rise to a height of about 6,000 feet above the level of the lake. "The stratification of the rock is strongly marked in successive ledges that catch the snow falling from above, forming irregular bands of alternative white and purple; one of these bands more marked than the rest encircles the base of the peak and this, according to the tradition, is the mark of the cable wherewith the *rakshashis* attempted to drag the throne of Siva from its place. Fragments of a dark purple stone, strongly resembling in colour the rock of Kailas, which I found on the shores of the lake, were a sort of rough jasper. The openings on both sides of Kailas disclose only more mountains in the rear; the western ravine is two or three miles deep; the back of the eastern recess is occupied by a fine pyramidal mass rising in steps of rock and snow, with a curious slant to the eastward caused by the dip of stratification."

The journey eastwards over the plain at the base of the sacred mountain was tedious, owing to the streams draining from Kailas into the lake. The principal of these was that styled by Strachey the La Chhu, which averaged 150 feet in breadth and was 3 feet deep in the centre. The Barkha Chhu, two miles further

on, was less formidable. After crossing this last stream the travellers continued over sandy flats in an east-south-east direction for six or seven miles, keeping about a quarter-mile from the margin of the lake. They dared not camp until they were far enough from the village or rather post-stage of Barkha, and then it was half-past-one at night. The trip, it must be remembered, was a secret one and beset with the fear of being turned back or at least of unpleasantness with the Kailas monks, of whose vengeance, for introducing an English traveller, Strachey's native followers seemed to be in dread.

Starting again at sunrise and edging southwards to round the eastern upper corner of Rakas Tál, they now entered on the north-to-south isthmus separating the latter lake from its more eastern twin Manasarowar or Tsho Mapang. A mile on Strachey declares he came on "a large stream 100 feet wide and 3 deep, running rapidly from east to west through a well-defined channel: this was the outlet of Manasarowar." He, moreover, describes this river as "the deepest we had yet crossed," and states that, after winding through the undulating ground of the isthmus for perhaps four miles, it falls into the Rakas Tál. Such averments from an observer so reliable as Henry Strachey seem conclusive as to the existence of a connecting stream between the two lakes. Other travellers cast doubt upon this point, but with the exception of one native explorer of the Indian Survey Office none have passed actually over the ground as did Strachey.

Lieutenant Strachey entertained the idea of making a circuit completely round the shores of Lake Mapang, but the timidity and arguments of his native followers decided him to begin the homeward journey at once. He disbelieved the absurd stories his headman, Rechu, told him of the terrible punishment which they would all receive if discovered by the Tibetan authorities, but himself foresaw difficulties which would make the delay of making the circuit hardly worth incurring. Accordingly, the party started south (October 6th) keeping down the isthmus between the lakes and nearing the shore of Lake Lagran. From the south-east corner of that lake they made rather a south-west course over the low hills bounding the southern shores of Lagran. Towards sunset they descended into a sloping plain, the head of the general valley stretching thence eastwards and forming the northern portion of the sub-province of Purang.

“Gurla rose close upon our left ; on our right and rear was the southern face of the hills of Lagan which here range east and west for a few miles ; in front rose the Byans Himalayas in dark steep slopes with the snowy summits towering behind, and close below ran the Karnali hidden in a deep ravine. Projections of the mountainous enclosure concealed the opening of the valley into Central Pruang (*i.e.*, Purang) on the south-east. This valley of Northern Pruang forms an acute triangle, of which the base and smallest side is marked by the hills of Lagan on the north ; the two longer sides by the base of the Momonangli range on

the east, and the Karnali at the foot of the Byans Himalayas on the west ; the apex of the triangle being southward at the entrance of middle Pruang. All this ground, though flat in the gross, has a sharp slope towards the Karnali and drains into that river by a multitude of deep ravines rising from the base of Mount Gur-la, and one or two from the Lagan hills,"

The party kept south and then south-west on October 7th ; reaching that day the banks of the Karnali, which river was crossed by a log-bridge 50 feet in length. The right bank of the river rose almost abruptly to a height of 250 feet. Above the bridge it rose in cliffs of conglomerate with caves of hermit lamas in them overhanging the river. This part they ascended by means of steep paths over landslips. Keeping onward and shaping their course rather more decidedly to the south-west, they reached that same day the Lipu-lek Pass over the main line of the Himalayas and, marching until 3 A.M. in the night, encamped for rest when well within British-protected territory. Thus the Pass by which Lieutenant Strachey returned was one much further to the south-east than that by which he had entered Tibet—in fact the Lang-pya La by which he entered the country is some 38 miles north-west of the Lipu-lek. The latter, however, is now a dangerous Pass to choose, because of its proximity to Takla-khar.

And here it is convenient to leave the plucky officer ; only adding that the survey he made of the sacred lakes and of the country intervening between them

and the two Passes in Garhwal still forms the foundation of our latest maps of this territory. Mr. T. Kinney and the late Mr. Ryall in 1876-77 made considerable additions on a survey expedition in these parts, but those gentlemen did not succeed in penetrating even half-way to the lakes.

In 1847 the Governor-General of India (Lord Hardinge) appointed a Tibetan Boundary Commission with instructions to define officially the boundary-line between Western Tibet and the Tibetan Possessions of the Maharaja of Kashmir, which latter comprise Nubra, Ladak, and Rupshu along the frontier. Captain Henry Strachey together with Major A. Cunningham and Dr. Thomas Thomson were chosen members of this Commission; and, with the approval of our new ally and dependent, the Maharaja Gulab Singh, overtures were made to the Tibetan authorities to meet the members and inspect and demarcate the limits of the respective territories. However, after two years had been spent in the endeavour to procure a meeting, the Chinese-Tibetan authorities declined to hold any intercourse with any British deputies and would not permit the Commissioners to cross over into Tibetan territory. Accordingly, the three Englishmen confined themselves to the protected Himalayan states of Garhwal, Bishahr, Spiti, and Lahoul, through which they journeyed up into Ladak and penetrated thence northwards even to the Karakorums, fixing their head-quarters at Leh. Although no political work was accomplished, Dr. Thomson devoted

himself most successfully to exploring the botany of the sub-Himalayan and Tibetan plateau zones so far as these were accessible; Major Cunningham investigated the archæology and ethnology of the region; while Captain Strachey busied himself over the topography and physiography of the territory visited and of the adjacent portions of West Tibet, making several unauthorised excursions into the forbidden districts of the latter.

The result of Captain Strachey's trips and inquiries was the completion of an excellent map of a large part of the westernmost region of Tibet, the province of Ngari Khorsum, and a written report on the geography and resources of that province. In 1849 the Commissioners returned, having accomplished diplomatically nothing, though they had done much actually towards the enrichment of our particular knowledge of the visited tracts.

In 1848, Lieutenant Richard Strachey, brother of Henry Strachey, supplemented in a substantial manner his brother's work by the successful performance of a somewhat similar trip to the shores of the Manasarowar lakes. Few of us were cognizant of this expedition. Indeed, the narrative of his adventure, after lying unpublished for over 50 years, was only at length put in shape by its author (now General Sir Richard Strachey) and first printed in the pages of the *Geographical Journal* for 1900.

It seems that Mr. R. Strachey, accompanied by his able friend Mr. J. E. Winterbottom, set out early in

August 1848 from Almora in order to visit the mystic lakes. Their route lay a considerable distance further to the west than that taken by Henry Strachey. They travelled *viâ* the Barji-kang La, Ralam, Milam, and Khyung-kar to a point on the Sutlej within Tibet; situated in lat. $31^{\circ} 4' 20''$ N., long. $80^{\circ} 24'$ E. Thence, instead of like Moorcroft following the course of the Sutlej to its place of effluence from the western lake, Rakas Tál, the travellers dipped again far to the south and made for the southern shore of that lake. On this route Mr. Strachey made many important measurements of peaks by purely geometrical operations which assure the results within one or two hundred feet. The highest of these was *Káhma*, which is even visible from Almora, the main summit of which was found to be 25,500 feet, and the points of its two chief spurs about 24,000 feet. He also measured the gigantic *Gurla Mandhata* to the south of the lakes, which forms the end of a lofty spur that runs from the Indian watershed up the north-east side of the gorge of West Purang and suddenly terminates, on attaining its greatest height five miles south of the margin of the lakes. *Gurla* itself, was measured by R. Strachey at 25,200 feet; and he put down other peaks of the same mass at 22,800, 22,500, and 22,200 feet respectively. These heights have since been re-measured (in 1877) by Messrs. Ryall and T. Kinney, whose observations exhibit few discrepancies with Mr. R. Strachey's.

One object of the present trip by Messrs. Strachey and Winterbottom was to ascertain whether the report

by Henry Strachey of a connecting link or stream between the lakes Mapang and Lagran could be accounted a topographical fact. Henry Strachey had seen the stream 100 feet wide actually running into Tsho Lagran ; accordingly their business was to visit the corresponding point on the western margin of the other lake and observe if there existed any outlet from Mapang. Their observations, though perhaps not precise or conclusive, served at least to confirm the first assertion. They saw an effluent stream near the Ju Gompa, but, though it was noticed to be flowing in the direction of Lagran, they unfortunately did not personally *follow* the waters to the presumed place of entry.

Circumstances once more pressed for an immediate return. Messrs. R. Strachey and Winterbottom having traversed by now the isthmus betwixt the twin lakes and gazed on the waters of each, turned back on their track and reached Milam again on September, 26th, 1848. It will be noted that neither the one nor the other of the two parties had succeeded in reaching the eastern shores of Lake Mapang or Manasarowar proper. In 1849 the brothers Strachey made a joint expedition into the Guge sub-province of West Tibet from the Ladak side, visiting Hanle and the uplands of Chumurti and Guge, in June and July of that year. They reached the great and ancient monastery of Tot Ling on the Sutlej on July 17th, 1849, and even got as far south towards the Garhwal boundary as Daba. This was the last of their explorations in Tibet.

SIR JOSEPH HOOKER IN THE HIMALAYAS.

When the foregoing investigations of the Western Himalayas and West Tibet were drawing to a close, a man of singular parts and intrepidity arrived in India bent on exploring the Eastern Himalayas in the Nepalese and Sikkim sectional ranges of those mountains. This was the botanist and traveller J. D. Hooker, son of the distinguished botanical scientist, Sir William Hooker. When he visited and thoroughly explored and mapped the intricate mountain system of Sikkim and East Nepal, Hooker the younger was a man only 30 years old. He arrived at Mr. Hodgson's house at Darjeeling in the year 1848 and was presently on the very frontiers of Tibet. He inspected nearly every Pass out of Sikkim into the Chhumbi Valley and Tibet, particularly the peaks and approaches of the stupendous Dongkhya region. His exploration of the Wallung Valley in Nepal is the only visit ever paid by an European to that part. In his diary he committed to writing those enchanting descriptions of the great mountains Kangchenjha, Chomomo, Forked Dongkhya, and Kangchenjunga, which present them to his readers as the most awful and sublime realities. He was the first to place on paper from his own personal observations the orography of this portion of the Himalayas, as well as the first to project a detailed map of Sikkim—a map which still forms the basis of present-day maps of the country.

Dr. J. D. Hooker managed just to enter Tibet over the Dongkhya Pass, reaching the Cholamo lakes on the

Tibetan side. Beyond this little rush, however, he picked up during his wanderings in Wallung and Sikkim so much information concerning Tibet and the Tibetans that no writer on the subject dare enter on his task without first studying the *Himalayan Journals*. His elucidation of the physical geography of the Tibetan plateau remains of permanent value.

Dr. Hooker's chief business was, nevertheless, the study of the botany of the Eastern Himalayas ; and to take one section only of this work, his collections of between 20 and 30 species of rhododendron were sufficient to bring him abiding fame. The young traveller expended some three years over these explorations, sailing for England in 1851 ; and, although over 50 years have elapsed since those days, now as Sir Joseph Hooker, he has not yet laid down his pen which has produced books innumerable in the departments of botany and travel. One only wonders and regrets that he has been never tempted to re-visit the scene of his earliest and most fascinating triumphs. Dr. David Prain of the Sibpur Gardens may be regarded as Hooker's successor in the department of Himalayan and Tibetan botany.

CHAPTER VII.

EXPLORATIONS UNDER OFFICERS OF THE SURVEY OF INDIA—CAPTAIN MONTGOMERIE AND HIS CORPS OF PUNDITS—TRACING THE YERU TSANGPO IN CENTRAL TIBET.

Some 12 or 13 years seem to have elapsed before any further efforts to investigate the mysteries of the forbidden land were put forward. But then a new departure in Tibetan Exploration was inaugurated; and one that has proved singularly successful.

The idea now suggested was to employ natives of certain of the upper valleys of the Himalayas in secretly surveying and reporting upon the territory beyond the frontier. There was to be choice made of specially intelligent individuals conversant with Hindustani and if possible with Tibetan. These were to be trained at Dehra Dun in technical work such as taking compass bearings, observing for latitude and making boiling-point records for altitude; and, after trial in tested localities, were to be despatched under some trifling disguise into Tibet.

Two men were thus first selected in 1863. The late Colonel, then Captain, T. G. Montgomerie, who took the keenest interest in trans-frontier exploration, undertook their technical instruction; and they rapidly acquired the use of sextant, compass, and

thermometer and learned to recognise the larger stars. When sufficiently trained they were each equipped with money, clothing, a strong wooden box with a specially concealed secret-drawer for holding observing instruments, a prayer-wheel with rolls of blank paper instead of prayers in the barrel on which observations might be noted, and lamaic rosaries by the beads of which each hundred paces might be counted. As men of a certain learning, these and other agents of the survey became known as "pundits."

Being now ready for a first attempt, Captain Montgomerie considered he could not do better than despatch his two "pundits" to follow from its source the course of the great river of Tibet, the Yeru Tsangpo. This would involve an exploration of a line of route from the Manasarowar lakes to Lhása at least, and thus yield information of various kinds concerning 700 to 800 miles of country at that time completely unknown. Moreover, the position of Lhása itself had never been geographically fixed and was only guessed at from native information. Altogether, this choice opened out a capital field for the first experiment.

Eventually, however, it was found that a way *via* Nepal would be safer. Accordingly the two pundits, as they were termed, were ordered to proceed to Khatmandu in Nepal and, thence crossing the frontier, endeavour to strike the main route from Manasarowar or Gart'ok to Lhása. After journeying to Lhása they could retrace their way and carry the survey back to the source of the great river if feasible.

Commencing their route-survey at Bareilly in India, the situation of which was of course mathematically fixed, the two men reached Khatmandu, March 7th, 1865. Their inquiries showed that the direct road to Lhása by Milam and Dingri would be probably impassable so early from snow. So they elected to go to Kirong, a town just within Tibetan jurisdiction, situated on the easternmost upper branch of the Gandak, and make their way thence. Arrived at the frontier near Kirong, the authorities there, being dissatisfied with their story, would not allow them to proceed. Returning to Khatmandu the senior pundit again started but alone, and this time by a ruse succeeded in reaching Kirong. Here, obtaining the influence of the brother of a man to whom he had lent money, he was at length permitted to travel on. Leaving Kirong on August 13th, he joined a large trading party who took him into their company. Following up various ramifications of the Gandak river and crossing the general watershed range at Ngo La, they first caught sight of the mighty river of Tibet on August 30th, and arrived at Tádum monastery, a staging-place on the main route between Gart'ok and Lhása. To be rid of his companions who were bound west, whereas he wished to travel east, the pundit feigned sickness and was left at Tádum. This proved a good move, as the annual trading caravan from Ladak to Lhása, known as the Lopchhak mission, was about to pass through the place. On the 2nd October some of this party arrived and he got permission to

join the Ladaki camp. Thence he travelled on, diligently counting every pace he took and, whenever he could steal out alone at night, making his astronomical observations for position most carefully. For hundreds of miles together the man actually reckoned every stride, counting 2,000 paces to the mile.

Most of the journey lay near the course of the Yeru Tsangpo, save for one long detour which left a space of about 140 miles, which remains to this day unexplored. Passing towns of some importance such as Nabring, Jang-lha-tse, and P'unts'o-ling, the pundit reached Shigatse on October 29th. This was indeed a valuable point gained, as no European or emissary of Europeans had visited this, the second capital of Tibet, since Turner's sojourn in 1781. The pundit stayed nearly two months in the city and even ventured to do homage to the Panchhen Rimpochhe or head of the great Tashilhümpo monastery. He found him a boy of about eleven years' old surrounded by priests in reverential attitudes. The sacred child placed his hands on every head present and, having put three formal questions to each, they were given tea from a silver kettle and dismissed.

From Shigatse, the party went south to Gyangtse and, then crossing 65 miles of desolate country in an easterly direction, came to Yamdok lake, skirting which they reached Palte Jong on the northern shore. Now crossing the Khambala Range, they once again descended into the valley of the Yeru and thence made their way up the banks of the Kyi Chhu, reaching

Lhása at length on January 10th, 1866. Not to dwell upon his residence there, it may be mentioned that the pundit made careful note of places and events, picking up information of a miscellaneous character and visiting Sera, Galdan and other monasteries in the vicinity. He kept for more than a month a continuous record of the temperature at Lhása, registering 16 readings of the thermometer every day for 14 days of that time. He also made 20 separate observations, both solar and stellar, to determine the exact latitude of the city, resulting in a mean fixture of $29^{\circ} 39' 17''$; and by means of several boiling-point experiments adjusted the altitude of the place at 11,699 feet above the level of the sea. As the pundit was lodged in a house only 20 paces from the great Jhokhang, the Buddhist cathedral of Lhása, he was able to describe minutely the various religious ceremonial and orgies which usher in the Tibetan new year. His admission to the presence of the Dalai Lama is narrated elsewhere. Seeing the Jongpön of Kirong, whom he had deluded as to his journey, in the streets of Lhása one day, he was so terrified that he shut himself indoors for most of the remainder of his sojourn. Presently he arranged to quit the capital with the Ladak caravan on its return journey, and accordingly left the city April 21st. The details of the route westward need not be dwelt upon. The pundit went back not only to Tádum, but right on over Mariam La to Manasarowar lake, which however he did not stay to survey. Finally he made his way over a Himalayan

pass into Kumaon on June 29th, and at length got to Masuri.

This, the first exploit of the native agents of the Survey of India, thus proved eminently successful; amply justifying the anticipations of both General Walker and Captain Montgomerie, the latter gentleman compiling reports of the utmost value and a remarkable map 16 miles to the inch of the whole region traversed. As to the hero of the expedition himself, though not then publicly revealed as to his identity for prudential reasons, he was destined to make thereafter equally adventurous trips of the greatest geographical importance and to be subsequently known to fame as Pundit Nain Singh, the distinguished explorer.

We have dwelt thus particularly on the inaugural expedition of the band of native agents since engaged in trans-frontier exploration because of the grand results which rapidly followed their labours. Their investigations in the twenty years between 1865 and 1885 have brought about an intimate knowledge of the geography of Southern Tibet. Rivers, mountain ranges, localities of towns and villages, can now be laid down with extreme accuracy in our maps, wholly and solely by their painstaking surveys. Much indeed remains to be done, but how much has been accomplished is matter for astonishment when one considers with what difficulties they had to combat and how secretly they had to conduct their operations. Thus one man became a slave for over a year in Eastern

Tibet, yet never abandoned the ultimate object of his commission. Another was over four years wandering about. So did the intelligent heads of the Survey Department carefully select and prepare their agents, place them across the gigantic barrier of ice and peak, and when they returned at length, the information and observations brought back had to be most patiently extracted, sorted, and assimilated. It is all indeed—the whole scheme with its marvellous results—one of the greatest romances in geographical science.

Other explorations were soon arranged. The second pundit, who had been left at Khatmandu by Nain Singh, had subsequently explored the Gart'ok district. Another man was now added to the party and the trio were started from Masuri, the popular hill sanitarium in the Himalayas, May 2nd, 1867. Captain Montgomerie's instructions to them were four-headed : (1) To examine the upper basin of the Sutlej ; (2) to solve the question as to whether there was an eastern branch of the Indus and, if possible, to trace that branch to its source ; (3) to connect Gart'ok with the Ladak survey-triangles ; (4) to reconnoitre both the gold-diggings alleged to lie east of Rudok and the salt and borax fields beyond.

Nearly all these proposals were successfully carried out. The existence of the eastern branch of the Indus was established, although the source was not reached ; and an interesting account of the gold deposits and the workings at Thok Jalung was compiled by Nain Singh. As to the courses of the rivers Sutlej and Gyāma

Rabdan (the west branch of the Indus), they were laid down with considerable approximation. The party returned to British territory the beginning of November 1867; and Captain Montgomerie was able to report that nearly 18,000 square miles of the geography of the western tracts of Southern Tibet had been roughly accounted for, founded on 850 miles of route-survey with 80 altitude observations and 190 records of latitude taken at 75 different points.

Major Montgomerie (as he had now become) began early in 1868 to organise work beyond the eastern watershed of the easternmost branch of the Indus in districts north of the basin of the Yeru Tsangpo.

Nain Singh was allowed a rest and the other two despatched on this expedition. The gold country, which was found to include seven separate fields, was re-investigated; and the pundits circled east to long. 83°, then south-west to Manasarowar where the lakes were surveyed. Thence again starting east, one man managed to traverse alone the route along the Yeru Tsangpo penetrating as far as Shigatse, where he was stopped. The other man managed to join the Ladak caravan *en route* to Lhása, as Nain Singh had contrived to do in 1865; but mounted messengers from Gart'ok (whither reports of these secret expeditions had been conveyed by traders from the Indian hills) found him out and prevented him advancing beyond Tádum monastery. He very narrowly escaped being sent back to Gart'ok, where he would have been severely dealt with. Fortunately the man told the

Ladak merchant that he was an agent of Nain Singh ; and as the former cherished the warmest remembrances of his previous journey with the latter, he did what he could to protect the culprit. Although it was impossible to take him to Lhása, the merchant got him released and he was eventually suffered to cross the Himalayas by way of Muktinath shrine into Nepal. This was an unexplored route, and certain valuable new details concerning the Lawa-mönt'ang district, where the westernmost feeder of the Gandak rises, were thus obtained for our maps.

In 1868, even a fourth explorer was put on. He was employed in regions north of Eastern Nepal. He made a route-survey of nearly 1,200 miles in length, some portions of which were quite new. Getting behind, that is to the north of Mount Everest, he journeyed to Dingri where his further progress was opposed by the Jong-pön. As far as it goes, this exploration is important as no other agent has travelled there since, and some light was thrown on the line of watershed behind the highest of the great peaks seen from Indian stations.

Much mystery and secrecy were now placed over the operations of the surveying pundits, and the results of their expeditions were not made immediately public. This was found necessary ; as news of the plans of our Survey Office seemed to flit as by magic to the Tibetan authorities, causing them to keep constant watch on all trading parties arriving from British territory, even where such traffic was frequent.

In 1869, it was evident that the fourth explorer—then little more than a youth—was likely to prove as able an emissary as Nain Singh, and he was deputed to make another trial journey before being entrusted with a lengthy tour. Accordingly he undertook a traverse from the Milam glaciers over the Mangshang Pass to Ts'o Lang-gak (one of the Manasarowar lakes) and thence he made out the sources of the Karnali river, following it down into Nepal—a route-survey of 400 miles. This man was then known as “Pundit D.,” but he afterwards became famous as A. K. or Krishna. By birth he was a semi-Tibetan, and therefore proved the more reliable in his rendering of the local place names.

We have next our old friend, the organiser of these curious campaigns—now advanced to be Colonel Montgomerie—planning a much more ambitious expedition. The scheme was to send a survey agent into the northern districts of Central Tibet to make out the whereabouts of the great lake, Tengri Nor, and to march thence right across the north-east country to Kōkō Nor. Pundit D., otherwise A. K., was selected for the work, and in the autumn of 1872 received the Colonel's final instructions and proceeded through Purang into Tibet, where he easily made his way to Shigatse, which was reached November 24th. The young explorer was accompanied by four assistants acting as drivers and travelled with ponies, asses and sheep. Crossing the Yeru Tsangpo, they struck up north along the banks of the Shang Chhu and surmounted the northern watershed of the former

river, whence they made north-east to the shores of the great lake. It was now mid-winter, and their height was over 15,000 feet; yet a complete circuit of the lake was made and then half-round again, so that its topography was thoroughly studied. During the circumambulation the party were attacked by mounted robbers, who plundered them of all their property save the observing instruments. Thus bereft the pundit could no longer hope to reach the Chinese frontier; so made for Lhása which lay south-east *via* the Dam Valley. Lhása was reached March 9th, 1873, and there he endeavoured to raise funds on his instruments for the return journey. After incredible hardships the poor fellow managed to reach India, from which he had been absent quite a year. Tengri Nor, however, had been thoroughly mapped as result.

About this period occurred an event important in its bearing on Tibetan Exploration—the departure for ever from India of the projector and organiser of the whole novel scheme. Colonel T. G. Montgomerie was constrained by illness to go home in the hope of recovery. But repose had little effect in restoring him to health, and he finally resolved to give up the service, retiring in 1876; only, however, to die January 31st, 1878. His age was only 47 years.

But Captain Henry Trotter then took up the same work with equal ardour.

Already this unique system of exploring a country by secret native agents had proved a remarkable success. Bringing back their observations to be worked out by English experts in Calcutta and Dehra Dun,

large tracts in Tibet had thus become no longer geographically unknown. The work, however, of the native explorers themselves was by no means that of automatic machines, but called for considerable power, both of skill and judgment. They were trained to execute delicate traverse surveys, measuring the angles of all objects passed—peaks, forts, monasteries—with the prismatic compass and determining distances by counting every pace they took. All of them were able to take latitudes with a sextant and were instructed to do this wherever practicable. Moreover, boiling-point observations for altitude had to be frequently made. But the accuracy of the survey mainly rested upon their being able to keep up a continuous measure of the road—any break in so doing would ruin the whole work, as to ascertain longitudes by lunar observations was beyond their attainments. When it is mentioned that one of these pundits traversed in one journey over 2,500 miles, crossing innumerable mountain ranges and counting every pace he took ; another, Atma Ram, who accompanied Captain Bower, enumerated his steps for 2,080 miles ; a third surveyed 1,319 miles doing the same ; and all under conditions of utmost secrecy—then some estimate may be conceived of the labour and the stupendous patience involved in such achievements.

FURTHER EXPEDITION BY NAIN SINGH.

So far, little beyond the south-western and southern central parts of Tibet had been reported upon. The

regions north of the Yeru river and the great eastern tracts were still almost untrodden. Accordingly, Nain Singh was now requisitioned to reach Lhása from Ladak by a more northern route, keeping substantially a directly eastern course, though eventually the line taken from Ladak ran E. S.-E.

Nain Singh was actually on the road back from Yarkand with the party of Sir Douglas Forsyth's Second Expedition, when he received his orders to set out, without any period of rest, on this new and arduous trip. Forthwith on July 15th, 1873, he started from Leh, with 26 sheep as load-carriers and for food, and with two men as his servants and sheep-drivers. Crossing the frontier and skirting the Pangkong lake, the travellers soon found themselves in the vicinity of Rudok, where the general level of what is termed the Tibetan plateau rose to 14,500 feet, and so continued, stretching E. S.-E. for over 600 miles—in fact to Dangra Yum lake, where it mounts still higher. In this line of route, though mountain ranges lying to the north and the south were skirted, only slight ridges had to be surmounted. This does not mean that the country was at all of the nature of a level plain ; but that, amidst curving mountain-ranges, it was possible to travel by an easy road devoid of any difficult gradients nearly the whole way from Ladak to Lhása.

First, the lands occupied by the nomad herdsmen known as Chang-pa or “Northmen”—really tribes belonging to the general Dokpa category—were traversed. Nain Singh received friendly attentions from

these pastoral folk who, though Buddhists, went in largely, he found, for shooting and trapping game. By August 25th he reached a country wherein considerable colonies of Khampas, immigrated from Khams, a province 1,000 miles away on the Chinese border, had settled. They comprised some 1,700 souls and have peopled two districts known as Garge T'ol and Garchhe T'ol. They are a fine-formed, active, fearless set, full of enterprise ; possessing large herds of horses and immense flocks of sheep ; collecting also salt, borax, and gold, which together with wool they transmit on sheep-back to various marts on the Indian frontier. They are great meat-eaters ; both sexes expert riders, and constantly engaged in predatory forays on their neighbours and on travellers' camp.

On September 17th the little party arrived at certain gold-fields named Thok Dorákpa, where the diggers dwell in artificial underground abodes. They were now nearly 400 miles from the Ladak frontier-line ; and they began there to enter upon the more remarkable portion of their route, geographically regarded.

Already lakes of small size had been recurring along the chief part of the roadway from the great Pangkong lake. But some 70 miles beyond, and south-east from Thok Dorákpa, there commenced a series of really grand sheets of water encradled amid lofty mountains. This chain of lakes lies at an elevation of between 15,000 and 16,000 feet and stretches in a zone due east to Tengri Nor[†], the last and largest of

the series in this direction. In fact, Nain Singh's present campaign was noteworthy chiefly for the discovery of that lengthy system of lakes. Moreover, he brought word that, notwithstanding the great elevation, verdant pastures, frequented by hundreds of herd of large game, were the prevailing feature around these waters.

When Tengri Nor or Namts'o Chhyidmo was reached, the pundit had (in three-and-a-half months' time) traversed since leaving Leh 880 miles. He asserted, likewise, that, so smooth and comparatively flat was the proper track over the plains and in between the mountain-ranges, a cart—had such a vehicle existed in Tibet—might easily have been wheeled the whole distance.

Rounding the great lake and making south amid mountains and over passes, the travellers reached Lhása on 18th November. There they stayed only two days; and, setting out, they struck a south-east line of march to Samye (where is a famous monastery) and so across the Yeru Tsangpo to Tset'ang (Chetang). Thence Nain Singh took a shortcut up the Yarlung valley as far as Chhoide-kong, where he turned first south-east and then due south to reach the Serasa Pass into Tawang near the Bhutan border; finally coming out in British territory at Odalguri in the Darang district of Assam. This point he gained on March 1st, 1875; and he was in the office of the Surveyor-General in Wood Street, Calcutta, on March 11th. He had travelled 1,391 miles from Leh to Assam, and

along 1,319 of these his bearings and number of paces had been unfailingly reckoned. No fewer than 497 boiling-point observations for altitude had been taken ; and with his sextant he had noted 276 double altitudes of the sun and stars for the computation of latitude.

TRACING THE YERU TSANGPO IN CENTRAL TIBET.

One further exploration of this series deserves narration, because it resulted in a delineation, for the first time on our maps, of the true course of the great Yeru Tsangpo through the central and most thickly-populated part of Tibet. The course of the river in these parts—from Shigatse to Chet'ang (Tset'ang)—has been since so well surveyed that its position and direction for this length is now laid down in the maps with almost absolute accuracy. But it was not so when the survey-agent L. traced its banks for 200 miles in the heart of Tibet.

It was in March 1875 that L. set out from Darjeeling and steered due north through Sikkim, along an old route of Hooker's for much of the way, to the Kongra-lama Pass. Crossing into Tibet, he reached Khamba-jong (really Ganpa-jong), 15 miles from the Pass, where is an important frontier post with a large guard. Here L. and his servants were detained for two weeks as suspects before they were permitted to pursue their way unmolested towards Shigatse, where they arrived about the middle of May. Here the explorer was re-examined by the Governor, and not allowed to depart till the arrival of some traders whom

he persuaded to vouch for him. While he was in Shigatse, the greatest consternation among the inhabitants was caused by the report that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Commissioner of Darjeeling were in Sikkim. Detachments of troops were immediately sent off to guard the Sikkim passes, and thirteen companies of Tibetan soldiers (about 350 men in all) marched in from Lhása to garrison Shigatse. These men were armed with swords, and a gun to every two men. The monastery of Tashilhümpo adjoins the bazaar of Shigatse, and contains 3,800 monks. Notwithstanding the excellence of the road between Shigatse and Darjeeling *via* Khamba-jong, it is not a favourite route because of the heavy bribes and tolls demanded by the officials from traders.

Starting from Shigatse, L. made his way by a large wooden bridge over the Penam Nyang Chhu, which three miles lower down falls into the Tsangpo and, reaching the right-hand bank of the latter, he traced its course some 50 miles eastward to Jagsa where the Rong Nag Chhu from Yamdok lake flows in from the south-east. The mean width of the Tsangpo in this portion of it could not be properly calculated, as in some places the river divides into several channels separated by wide sands, while in other parts it spreads out into huge flats of water with hardly any perceptible current, as if overflowed. L. noted many villages on both sides from Shigatse to Jagsa, between which two points there is much traffic by boat. The roadway here turns off along the Rong Nag Chhu tributary

and follows it south-east to Yarsig on the north-west margin of the Yamdok Ts'o, which latter large lake had hitherto been considered a "ring-shaped lake." Between Shigatse and Yarsig there is considerable traffic; the explorer met or passed three or four hundred men with loads every day, and he travelled for three days with some thirty Nepalese merchants on their way to Lhása with cloth and brass, while he met some Kashmiris returning thence with brick tea. The Yamdok Lake, according to the explorer's account, is *not* a ring lake after all, though it has prominently figured as such on every map of Tibet since D'Anville's time. He was informed that yaks and sheep which he saw grazing on the mountains on the supposed island had got there without crossing water, by a path leading along a neck of land from the south. Having crossed the Khamba La Pass, L. traced another hitherto unsurveyed section of the Tsangpo from the Chak-sam-chhöwori iron bridge (leading to Lhása) to Chet'ang, passing on his way villages and monasteries. These last he always took care to make the circuit of on foot, and hat in hand, in the orthodox Tibetan fashion; but he saw some whose superior piety led them to make the round on their knees, or even by laying themselves flat on the ground.

At Chet'ang he could see the Tsangpo trending away to the horizon east by north in a wide valley, the view being bounded by a snowy range a great way off. The road continues along the right bank of this river past Chet'ang, but L. was warned against going along

it, unless he accompanied a strong body of merchants, for it is beset by thieves and wild and turbulent tribes armed with bows and arrows to be met with near Tsari. Accordingly, after remaining in Chet'ang 6 days, L., thinking he might run short of funds, left about the middle of December 1875, and turned southwards, intending to follow the route of Nain Singh into Assam. He appears, however, to have taken an alternative route from Chet'ang to Tangshok (Tangshu Chokhang), though from thence to Tawang the routes of the two coincided. At the latter place, the party were taken before the authorities, who peremptorily refused them permission to proceed and imprisoned them in the public flour mill. There were 300 traders who were detained at the same time ; while two young men who spoke their mind too freely on the subject of such arbitrary detention were promptly locked up and their goods impounded and sold. At length three mounted soldiers were told off to escort these two men and L. to Lhása. Fortunately, however, before they got to Lhása the governor of a fort on the road objected to some informality in the document carried by the soldiers, and ordered them back to Tawang, informing the travellers at the same time that they were free to depart. L. made his way back to Shigatse, suffering much from the extreme cold on the way. About the end of March 1876 he completed his arrangements at Shigatse, and finally returned to Darjeeling by the route followed by Captain Turner in 1783. At Phari, where there were three Chinese officials and thirty

mounted soldiers, he was detained under suspicion for a month ; but, eventually, gaining permission to depart, he proceeded up the Chhumbi valley and got home *via* the Jelep Pass.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRAVELS OF SARAT CHANDRA DAS, PRZHEVALSKY, AND THE PANDIT A. K.

THE BHUTIA SCHOOL AT DARJEELING.

IN the meantime, partly with the view to continued researches beyond the Himalayas, Government had established at Darjeeling on the Sikkim border an educational institution known as the *Bhutia Boarding School*. There, a number of Tibetan and semi-Tibetan lads, chiefly from families settled in and around Darjeeling, were gathered, housed and fed; and at the same time they were instructed in reading and writing English, Hindustani, and Tibetan. The intention was to draft the more promising youths to Dehra Dun, there to add to their general knowledge technical training as surveyors. We believe not more than two or three of the inmates were ever trained sufficiently to be employed in the way at first designed. A sound education was given to a large number of boys; a resident Tibetan lama placed to superintend the Tibetan studies; and a Bengali headmaster put in general charge. There have been excellent results; but the Survey Department and the exploration of Tibet were not proportionately benefited.

SARAT CHANDRA DAS.

There followed, nevertheless, one unexpected consequence from the foundation of this school at Darjeeling, and one which proved eventually of high service

to the elucidation of Tibetan geography and of Tibetan mysteries in general. The Bengali head-master, animated by his surroundings, became fired by ambition to study Tibetan literature, and thence conceived the idea of visiting Lhása itself, the vortex of Tibetan Buddhism.

This man was none other than Sarat Chandra Dás, who has since gained for himself so distinguished a name in connection with the subject. He was a native of Chittagong ; and, having received a good education at Sibpur Engineering College and also gotten himself some reputation in the study of Sanskrit, was given the appointment at Darjeeling in 1874. In the year 1878 he actually wrote to the Dalai Lama of Lhása asking permission to visit that city ; also to the Pauchhen Lama of Táshi-lhümpo with a like request. The latter ecclesiastic sent him a favourable reply together with a passport to travel through the southern province of Tsang to Táshi-lhümpo. Having applied for instruction in surveying operations, the Surveyor-General deputed Nain Singh, the explorer, to teach him the use of the sextant, prismatic compass, etc., and how to note the features of mountainous countries.

In May 1879, Chandra Dás, armed with the passport which enjoined all Jongpöns in the Tsang province of Tibet to assist the bearer and provide means for forwarding his baggage, and accompanied by Urgyen Gyats'o (who had been Tibetan teacher at the Bhutia School), departed on his expedition. Surveying operations were only commenced south-west of Jongri, which is a remote district of north-west Sikkim

at the back of Kinchhenjunga. Crossing over into Nepal to the village of Gyamsar, from there he ascended to a Pass giving access into Tibet, known as the Chhak-t'ang La. Surmounting the Chhorten Nyima Gang Pass, he traversed a route leading west of Kham-ba Jong, by which he threaded the various ranges where the Re Chhu takes rise and proceeded northwards by a track not followed by Turner, Bogle, Manning, or any previous explorers. Going *via* the Kyoga La and Ngambu Dung La, he visited the famous printing establishment at Nart'ang monastery and reached Shigatse, the lay-town near Táshi-lhümpo and capital of the province of Tsang, the end of June 1879. In the great monastery there, he was hospitably entertained by the head of the Ngag-pa or Tantrik College, who was chief minister to the Panchhen Lama. He resided at Táshi-lhümpo four months, during which time he made several excursions, visiting Lake Yamdok, Gyangtse, the great Sakya Monastery, and other centres; but not venturing across the Yeru Tsangpo towards Lhása, which was out of the jurisdiction of his patron the Panchhen Lama. In October, Chandra Dás—laden with Tibetan books and much information—started back. Regaining the frontier, he crossed into Sikkim from Tibet by the Dongkhya La, whence he was shortly home in Darjeeling once more.

HIS JOURNEY TO LHASA.

In November 1881, the indefatigable schoolmaster again set out on a second tour this time, determined

to penetrate even to Lhása. This being his intention, he did not now journey openly as the invited guest of the ruler of Tsang, but started secretly and in disguise, accompanied again, however, by his trusty lieutenant, the Sikkim native Urgyen Gyats'o. Getting, as before, quickly out of Sikkim (where he might have been recognized) into Nepal, Chandra Dás made for a lofty Pass styled Kangláchhen. As the season was the depth of winter—a plucky thing for a native of Bengal to brave the rigours of Tibet at this time—the Pass was barricaded with mighty snows; and the journey of the Bengali and his followers down the range on the Tibetan side for several thousand feet was by glissading over slopes and steeps of ice and snow. They presently arrived at the great wall, broken down in many places, erected by the Tibetans when at war with the Nepalese many years ago. Here they evaded a guard of native soldiers and slept amidst crags of the ruined wall; not daring, however, to ward off the deadly cold by lighting a fire.

Next day was begun a long and dreary journey along the bank of the Arun River, first east and then north-east. This track is described as stretching for very many miles in unbroken desolation. A few hamlets occur; but the denizens seem plunged in the deepest poverty. There is little or no cultivation attempted in this district—a striking contrast to the state of things still further east, in the main valley of the Penam Nyang River, and in the numerous branch valleys down which the many tributary streams enter that

larger stream. At length the boundary of the province of Tsang was reached ; and, three weeks after leaving Darjeeling, the famous monastery of Táshi-lhümpo hove into view.

At Táshi-lhümpo Sarat Chandra Dás was with old friends ; and there he resided this time for over three months as the honoured guest of the chief Tantrik lama with whom, also, he made many excursions to Gyang-tse, Dongtse, and other places. He was, besides, introduced to a great lady from Lhása (called by him, Lhacham) who subsequently befriended him in the capital.

On May 1st, 1881, he set out for Lhása in this lady's company, Urgyen returning to India. On the road the worthy babu grew very ill and was forthwith heartlessly abandoned by the great lady, who thought he had small-pox. Eventually, he was carried into Samding monastery, situate on a promontory of Lake Yamdok, where he was treated by various magical rites, the lady abbess Dorje Phagmo devising elaborate means to procure recovery. Sacred books were read over him. A puppet effigy of the babu was constructed and was offered to Shinje, the god of death, who was begged to accept it in lieu of the real victim. Then, finally, a sum of money was despatched to fishermen on the lake-shore, and therewith 500 fish, just caught, were purchased and reprieved from slaughter by being placed in the smaller lake—the sacred Dudmo T'so—where no man is permitted to cast net or line. This last act of Buddhist piety, or else the pure hill top air

of Samding, together with the earnest prayers which the poor man mentions he repeatedly sent up to God, at length brought much improvement to the patient. In a word, he did not die, but lived ; and, in ten days or so, was even capable of continuing his travels.

On journeying north from Samding, which stands at the junction of the peninsula with the main land, you cross a long natural bridge of rock, forming a causeway, quite spanning the out-flowing waters of the Rong Chhu. This curious formation is styled *Kalsang Sampa* ("the bridge of the blessed"). From thence you mount the steep rocky heights at the north-west border of the lake, leaving Palde Jong with its fortified white buildings on your right. Ultimately, you gain the lofty summit of a pass in this range—a range separating the valley of the Yeru from the basin of the lake. It was when he had reached the cairns on this pass that Chandra Dás lost sight of the turquoise-hued waters of the mystic Yamdok. Then, looking out in front to the north, there at his feet, right and left, he gazed on the lovely panorama of the mighty Yeru Tsang-po, the broad river which, for more than 700 miles, forms the spinal column of Tibet. From thence he began his descent into the valley of this river.

Having been ferried over the Tsang-po near the great useless chain bridge, the little party made its way up the right-hand bank of the Kyi Chhu until Nye-thang was reached. Our hero was now not one day's journey from Lhása. Classical sites abounded

on every hand. Travelling rapidly across an extremely fertile-looking plain, Daipung monastery was passed away to the left ; and then the towers and glittering pinnacles of the Sacred City soon burst upon the view. Here, at length, was the object of all his dreams and of all his arduous adventures lying sedately before him on the open plain ! Lhása the mysterious, the home of occult learning, the abode of the hierarch of all Buddhism, was reached, visibly reached at length. It was four o'clock in the afternoon as he approached the western gate of the city. Carefully did he arrange his garments ; and, having permitted his attendants to adjust his waist-sash exactly as an orthodox Tibetan ge-long's should be tied, he formed his party into a small procession after the manner of the newly-arrived. With a small banner streaming from the head of a pike carried over the shoulder of the man who walked first, with his beasts and other servants following next, and with himself bringing up the rear, drooping wearily on his pony,—thus did Sarat Chandra Dás enter bravely the teway of the unknown city of Lhása.

SARAT'S RESIDENCE AT LHASA.

No one offered to molest the party as they made their way through the main street of the outer city. As Chandra Dás wore coloured goggle spectacles and looked somewhat of a general wreck, the loungers freely remarked upon his appearance. "Another sick man," exclaimed an idler at a Chinese pastry-

shop door ; "why ! the city will soon be full of such." They afterwards learned that small-pox was already spreading in epidemic form through Lhása. A ride of half a mile brought the party to the inner gate of the city. Here *korchakpa* or watchmen were stationed ; but they barely glanced at the new-comers, who sedately filed through the portal, and found themselves now, apparently so simply and easily, in the very heart of the place which had once seemed so impossible to attain to. The attendants of the traveller, who were in his secret, now advised him to turn into a side lane while they went in search of lodgings. They fixed upon the common-house which was supposed to be appropriated to ge-longs from Táshi-lhümpo. On their return our hero, who had been submitting to some catechetical inquiries from casual passers-by, was hurried into a network of filthy lanes, under a dark archway, and, climbing a ladder in an inner court, was duly introduced to his suite of apartments. They were large but dark, and, as the poor babu had suspected, and afterwards could prove, haunted by a numerous detachment of "demon-bugs." The date of his arrival was May 30th.

We shall not dwell on the doings of our friend during his sojourn in Lhása, nor shall we describe the sights he beheld. Amongst his triumphs was an interview with the Dalai Lama. His adventures, indeed, have been lately published in book form ; and the author of the present narrative, who first had the honour of introducing the hero of these travels to the

general public some years earlier in a Review article, would now refer those who desire particulars to the book in question or else to the pages of his own article which appeared in the *Contemporary Review* of July 1890.

Sarat Chandra Dás resided only one fortnight in Lhása, though he saw so much while there. In the meantime, small-pox had been continuing its ravages in the city. Many high dignitaries were fleeing to the provinces; and the babu's companions, seized with panic, began urging instant departure from the infected place. The worthy and venturesome traveller stood out against these fears firmly enough at first, but his patroness Lhacham, too, advised him to set forth. He had intended a much longer sojourn, with many excursions to famous shrines east and north-east of Lhása. Yet there was no help for it. His subordinates threatened to depart in any case. Letters from Táshi-lhümpo, begging him to return, eventually decided the matter. He sadly went to Lhacham to bid her farewell. She was not to be seen, her fear of infection conquering all regard for her Indian friend. The following morning, June 13th, poor Chandra Dás paid a farewell visit to the Cho-khang; and made his obeisance to the great image of Buddha for the last time. Having propitiated various deities to grant him a safe journey, he then turned his back upon the Sacred City, never in all probability to behold its grotesque glories again.

And here it is convenient that the narrative should be brought to a close. The hero of this surprising

achievement had, indeed, many further adventures to undergo, and was destined to visit other notable places in Tibet. Moreover, in the result, nearly six months further elapsed before he found himself back on British territory and safely ensconced in Lhása Villa—only Lhása Villa, he who had trodden in triumph the veritable stones of Lhása herself !

But the results obtained were permanently valuable. The mysterious capital of Tibet had been thoroughly explored by a learned and intelligent man, and fully reported upon. Many important places, whose actual positions had been hitherto merely guessed at, were by him fixed mathematically. Yamdok lake had been re-explored. Finally, a new map of the central parts of Tibet—replete with an indefinite number of place-names, newly ascertained, and with the courses of rivers and mountains accurately traced on paper for the first time—was constructed, based in part upon the information obtained with such pains by Babu Sarat Chandra Dás.

PRZHEVALSKY, THE RUSSIAN EXPLORER.

It was at the opening of the seventies that the ambition of Europeans to enter the forbidden land revived. Several Englishmen had crossed just over the border from Ladak or on the Chinese side and then boasted of their "travels in Tibet"; but now a Russian officer, one Nicholas Mikhailovich Przhevalsky, laid a careful plan for making a real incursion, determined by hook or by crook to reach Lhása itself. His expedition was

secretly backed up by the Russian Government which supplemented his private resources with Imperial funds and gave him a small Cossack guard. Przhevalsky started from St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1870 and did not take long to find his way into Mongolia. His idea was that Tibet would prove less impenetrable through the deserts of the north-east frontier. And in this notion he was correct ; for, the approaches there were so secluded and involved such lengthy preceding journeys through difficult border-lands, that they were left free from all watch or defence.

Przhevalsky first spent nearly a year exploring South-East Mongolia and the Nan Shan. Eventually he arrived in the Kōkō Nor territory early in 1872. Entering it from the north-east and journeying first to Serkhang Gompa (which he styles by its Mongol name *Altan G.*), a famous fortified monastery, he next made for Sining, the Chinese town. After some sojourn at that place collecting provisions and beasts of burden, he shaped his course for the great Blue Lake (Kōkō Nor). When the northern shores of this inland sea have been skirted, you cross the hills to the S. E. and presently traverse the salty undulating plains known as Tábun Tsaidam, tenanted by five petty Mongol-Tibetan States. A marked feature of these plains is the closely-packed thickets or forests of tamarisk. The traveller bent his course S. W. towards Dzün, the capital of one of these States. Thence, continuing in the same direction, he passed over the Ang-gyer Taksha Range and so found himself in Tibetan territory. Next, the

great Chhu Mar river was reached and forded ; but his progress towards Lhása was practically at an end. Both guides and camels failed him ; and, after travelling a few miles further south to the banks of the Di Chhu, he had to confess his failure and retrace his track.

Another attempt to penetrate Tibet from the centre of the Kuen Lün mountains was made by Przhevalsky in 1876 ; but he got only as far as Lob Nor and then turned back without having even seen a square foot of Tibetan soil.

HIS THIRD AND FOURTH JOURNEYS.

In 1879 the eminent Russian explorer undertook to make a real effort to reach the capital of Tibet ; and, although this feat was never to be accomplished by him, yet the present journey proved the most successful of his "reconnaissances" in Central Asia. Moreover, he was well backed up on this occasion by the Russian Government, being furnished with travelling funds, provisions, transport, and an escort of 10 selected Cossacks. He set out March 21st, 1879.

Colonel Przhevalsky first made his way from Semipalatinsk to Barkul at the northern base of the eastern extremity of the Thian Shan, which mountains he crossed in the meridian of $93^{\circ} 30'$ E. by the Khamil Pass 8,700 ft. above sea-level. Making for the well-known town of Khamil or Hami, a ruined sort of place on the borders of Gobi, there he prepared for a journey of 240 miles across the desert to Sáchu. Arrived here, he was on the north western face of the numer-

ous parallel mountain ranges known as the Nan Shan. Entering this mountain region, the party found themselves in a sterile treeless portion very different from what the Nan Shan becomes further east. Amid rocky valleys and stupendous chasms, beset above with glaciers, Przhevalsky set about hunting, collecting, and surveying.¹ This part of the Nan Shan, the traveller, with his customary zeal for geographical nomenclature, named the "Humboldt mountains," and a range further to the south-east the "Ritter range;" and the first of these appellations seems to be now internationally accepted.

Continuing almost due south, the eastern tracts of the Tsaidam were traversed, the caravan proceeding *via* Baga Tsaidam to Tosun Nor ("Butter lake"); and thence crossing the Bayan Gol, it ascended the Burhan Botaga Range. Another steep range, the Shuga, was next surmounted and promptly re-christened by the gallant Colonel "the Marco Polo mountains." They were well within Tibetan territory now, and at a mean elevation of 14,000 feet. Presently they encountered a more difficult mountain barrier than ever,

¹ Colonel Przhevalsky's travels were not only geographically fruitful, but also yielded important results in various other scientific departments. He made large botanical collections which were named and analysed by Prof. Maksimovich, and which led him to formulate the customary nebulous theories as to the origin of the Tibetan and Mongolian floras. As to the zoological specimens brought back, Prof. Bichner of St. Petersburg has turned them and the collections made later by Pevtsov and Roborovsky, into materia for a work on Central Asian Mammals; while Prof. Theodore Pleske has described the birds, especially the families *Sylviida*, *Timeliida*, and *Accentorida*, including a new genus which he has named *Lophobasilus*.

the Kōkōshili, where the explorer, as it seems, was able to curb his passion for playing topographic godfather and sanctioned retention of the original cognomen.

Before reaching the next parallel range, the Dungbura, they crossed a plain 15,000 feet above the sea, studded with lakelets fed by springs, where the sandy soil supports a scanty vegetation consisting of mingled alpine and steppe forms. Their next march was most difficult, for they had not only to cross the main axis of the Dungbura and two of its ramifications, but to traverse intermediate tracts of half-frozen marsh land. Having at last extricated themselves from these mountains, they arrived on the banks of the river styled Muru Ossu by Mongols and Di Chhu by Tibetans. Here they halted for two days, before ascending its valley by a well-worn track taken by the Lhása pilgrims. But this disappeared altogether after about twenty miles, and they had again to resort to scouting in order to find the road. Fortunately, they were by this time so experienced in local land-marks that they managed to maintain the right route.

Crossing the Di-chhu which was then (May 1880) still frozen, though the ice broke under the loaded animals, the caravan now entered upon plains rising gradually to the summit of the Pass over the Dang-la mountains—a range forming the main watershed between the rivers of Northern Tibet. The Pass is low, but right and left rise series of snowy peaks. On the southern slope of this part of the Dang-la the descent is of long and easy gradient. Fifty miles from

the summit of the Dang-la a river was encountered, which the traveller states is styled Sang Chhu. His statements about its eastern course and its development into the "Nap Chhu" and Salwin are purely speculative and probably erroneous. Here, parties of Dokpa Tibetans were to be seen in the valley. They had pitched their black tents here and there, and around wandered their herds of yak and sheep.

On their second march from this valley they learnt that the Tibetans had decided not to allow them to pass, also that great excitement prevailed at Lhása, where reports were circulated that the Russians were coming to steal the Dalai Lama and destroy their faith. Pickets had been stationed from the village of Napchu on the frontier to the pass over the Dang-la, but these had been withdrawn on the approach of winter, as it was thought that the expedition had been deferred. Now, on its sudden appearance, soldiers and militia were at once assembled on the frontier, and the inhabitants were forbidden on pain of death to sell the Russians anything or enter into relations with them. Two officials with an escort of ten soldiers were sent from Napchu to inquire who they were, in order that the authorities at Lhása might be at once informed on all points.

Having advanced to within a short distance of the village of Napchu (the Naptchu of Huc) and met the Tibetan officials, Przhevalsky halted, and here he was obliged to wait until an answer had been received from Lhása. On the sixteenth day the answer came,

positively refusing to allow them to proceed. And thus they were compelled to return when they were within 170 miles of the capital of Tibet. His journey had lasted 18 months and had covered 4,780 miles.

In August 1883, the dauntless Przhevalsky started on his fourth expedition. At Kiakhta he made up his party, comprising 20 armed men which included Lieuts. Roborovsky and Kozlov and 12 Cossacks. Journeying from Urga to Sining-fu near Kōkō Nor and then making south-west, he reached the Burkhan Bötäga (sounded "*Burhan Bota*") mountains in May 1884. Thence he managed to travel by a route more easterly than before to the Di Chhu, but was there attacked by a large band of Golok robbers which he estimated to number 300. They were mounted and were probably from Amdo. Defeating this onslaught, the Russian party turned back northwards and, crossing the Angyertaksha Pass, suddenly veered due west; marching along a wide valley extending 150 miles in that direction with the Chaman Tag Range to the north and the Akka Tag to the south, and which he called *Doleena Vyeterov* or the Valley of Winds. The party turned north over the Amban Ashkan Pass and explored Lob Nor and the Tarim river, passing on to Khoten and so, after a digression or two, back home. He arrived back October 20th, 1885, having been absent upwards of two years.

On the whole this brave and earnest Russian accomplished a large amount of exploration in Mongolia and within the northern barriers of Tibet; but, although

he brought back valuable collections from the Kōkō Nor districts, still he can hardly be said to have been very successful as a traveller in Tibet ; and, alas, he died in 1888, the purpose of his life unfulfilled.¹ A monument has been erected to him on the shores of the Issyk Kul near to where he breathed his last, amid the wild mountains he loved so well.

THE FURTHER EXPLORATIONS OF A. K.

Unsignalized by newspaper puffs and declarations of what they meant to do, the agents of the Survey of India still continued their quiet inroads into the mountain-girt lands ; and the amassment of topographical and ethnological information steadily advanced.

The course of the great Tibetan river east of long. 91° and the solution of the Irawadi-Brahmaputra dispute were now objects of attention. A native explorer G—M—N— despatched in 1878 succeeded in discovering the remarkable sweep of the Yeru to the north and then its abrupt turn southwards, tracing its progress roughly some 300 miles lower down than Tse-t'ang to a well-known spot named Gyala Sengdong. All these revelations were new ; but, though

¹ Przhevalsky had just started on a 5th expedition under exceptionally promising auspices, having been granted an escort of 24 Cossack soldiers, when, having reached Karakol just N. of the Thian Shan within Russian territory, he fell ill of typhus fever and succumbed to it November 1st, 1888. He was 49 years old at his death. The total mileage of his four great journeys in Central Asia is reckoned at 19,710. By an imperial rescript of the Tsar the name of the place where this truly great explorer died was formally declared to be changed from Karakol to Przhevalsk.

the general facts were reliable, the man was not an observer of any degree of accuracy.

But here the services of A. K. were brought again into requisition. The solution of the controversy as to whether the Irawadi or the Brahmaputra might be the outflow of the Yèru was a main point in his instructions ; but otherwise he received a sort of roving commission to carry his searchings where he could throughout the north, central, and southern districts east of the meridian of Lhása. In the result he even penetrated into Mongolia.

Setting out with two companions, A. K. travelled from Darjeeling into the Chhumbi Valley ; and, taking the regular track *via* Phari, Gyangtse, and Yamdok Ts'o, arrived at Lhása September 5th, 1878, only 20 days after quitting Phari, which is near the Sikkim frontier line. He spent a whole year in Lhása and then joined a Mongol caravan of 100 persons bound northwards. Leaving that city September 17th, 1879, the surveyor was taken by a route which up to a certain point coincided in the reverse direction with Huc and Gabet's journey to Lhása. He passed due north through a region of low hills and wide valleys where were various monasteries with appendant villages, the country gradually rising from 11,600 to 13,500 feet. They were at first a jovial noisy throng ; the Mongols of the caravan riding as they drove their flocks, the Tibetans mostly walking. Presently the constant apprehension of being plundered by robbers, somewhat depressed the whole party, armed though they

were with swords and guns. At length leaving villages behind, they traversed a Dokpa district of tent-dwelling herdsmen; and next reached the great Dang-la range which was surmounted by a gently-ascending pass of 16,400 feet altitude. Crossing the head-waters of the Di Chhu and the Chhu Mar, the caravan bent its course to the north-east.

After a march of five weeks at great elevation, the travellers reached a range called the Angirtáksha by the people of the country; this was probably a continuation of the well-known Akka Tag Range. Crossing it by a pass of precisely the same height as the Lani La, by which they entered the Chang-t'ang, they descended into the plains of Tsaidam, and in a few days found themselves down at a level of 9,000 feet in a comparatively warm region, with plentiful scrub and cultivation. Arrived at Thingkáli, they thought they had nothing more to fear from the robbers, of whom they had been in constant dread hitherto; all the members of the caravan assembled together to exchange hearty congratulations on the good fortune which had so far attended them, and which they attributed to their own cunning and sagacity in evading the robbers. They bade each other farewell, with mutual kindly offers of future friendliness and hospitality; the Mongolians, who formed the greater portion of the party, dispersed themselves in different directions, but the Tibetans remained with A. K. to accompany him further north. He seems to have found the Mongolians very kind and friendly, ready to help him

whenever his supply of provisions ran short, remarkably honest and truthful, exceedingly partial to intoxicating liquors, and generally as harmless when drunk as when sober.

After a few days' rest at Thingkáli, the pandit and his Tibetan friends were about to start for Hoiduthára, when they were attacked by a band of some 200 mounted Golok robbers who had come to plunder the Thingkális, and now fell on them also. The robbers were eventually driven off; but they managed to carry away most of the goods which the pandit had brought to trade with, and all his baggage animals, but happily none of his instruments. Though much crippled by his losses, he determined to press on and make his way to Lob Nor and the plains of Gobi. He crossed the Tsaidam plateau, and reached Hoiduthára towards the end of December 1879, with his companion and servant. As the proceeds of the sale of the merchandise which the robbers had left behind were insufficient to carry them on, they took service with a Tibetan from Gyangtse, who had migrated some years previously to this country, where he had become a man of property and influence; he befriended them, and recommended them to remain with him until the winter was past, offering them food and lodging in return for looking after his camels. Towards the end of March 1880 they resumed their travels northwards and in a fortnight reached Yembi in Saithang, the head-quarters of a considerable population of Mongolian nomads, who dwell in white tents. Here, at

an elevation of 9,000 feet, A. K. halted for three months, and disposed of his remaining merchandise by sale and barter, realising 200 rupees in silver and some horses. He was waiting for an opportunity to proceed to Lob Nor with a party of traders when, during a temporary absence from Yembi, his servant basely deserted him, taking away most of his money and horses. The pandit and his companion were now left practically destitute, but they still determined to persevere. They again went into service for five months ; at the end of which they decided to move on with the limited funds at their disposal, and, should these fail, to beg their way. Their master, the pandit says, was a thorough gentleman, and on their departure he gave them a horse worth 40 rupees, some warm clothing, and provisions for their journey. They started from Yembi on the 3rd January, 1881, with a party of traders, crossed the Humboldt Range by a pass 14,000 feet high, and then descended into the plains of the Sulei Ho to a level somewhat below 4,000 feet. On the sixth day they reached the important town of Sachu.

After a few days' residence at Sachu, A. K. made arrangements for proceeding to Lob Nor with a party of traders, and had actually started with them when he was overtaken by a horseman who was sent by the Governor to compel him and his companion to return. The Governor took them for spies and kept them under surveillance for seven months. At the end of that time an influential lama, whom they had

known in Saithang, arrived and recognised them, and he obtained their release. He had come to visit a neighbouring temple of great renown called the Sangye Kutong or thousand images of Buddha, and was about to return to his home at Thuden Gomba, 600 miles to the south, on the road to Darchendo. He offered to take the pandit and his companion with him as servants, and they gladly accepted the offer, as they were most anxious to get away from Sachu, where they were looked upon as suspicious characters; they therefore did not venture to take any observations for the latitude and boiling-point here, but kept their instruments concealed.

They left Sachu with their new master in August 1881, returning over their former line of route through Saithang to Hoiduthára. A. K. also retraced his former route as far as Tosun Nor in Tsaidam. Thence, instead of going S.-W. on his old track, he marched due south to Barong, crossed the Amye-Machhen Range to the Kyaring Tsho and the region of the sources of the Hoang Ho. He now veered S. S.-E. over the Namcho Pass (lat. $33^{\circ}47'$ W., long. $96^{\circ}28'$ E.) and visited certain important towns of Khams, such as Gye-gündo (Kegudo of A. K.), Derge, and Kangdze; finally succeeding in gaining Bathang where he met with the French missionaries. The good fathers of this station most kindly received him, and they liberally helped him with money on hearing he was an Indian Government exploring agent. He determined therefore to return to India right across Tibet, with

the view to explore where possible the unknown parts of the course of the Yeru Tsangpo. Thus he travelled from Bathang south-west into Dayul and Zayul; the latter he describes as a semi-tropical region and as being used by the Tibetan Government as a penal settlement. From Zayul he crossed the Atak Gang-la range and struck off N.-W. until he joined the Abbé Huc's homeward route from Lhása. He made a most interesting journey westwards just along the southern watershed of the Gyama Ngul Chhu or Upper Salwin river. He did not revisit Lhása; but, making for the Tsangpo, he kept to it, through Chethang and as far west as the Khamba La, where he turned south, and so by Nagartse at length reached India early in 1882.

CHAPTER IX.

URGYEN GYATS'O, MESSRS. CAREY AND DALGLEISH, AND MR. ROCKHILL.

A VISIT TO LHASA BY URGYEN GYATS'O.

IN later times the most active of the native *employés* of the Trans-frontier Survey Department of India has been Urgyen Gyáts'o, who had already accompanied Sarat Chandra Dás in two exploration tours in Tibet. His most successful trip was the journey to Lhása and exploration of both banks of the Yeru Tsangpo as far east as Tset'ang, also the Lhobrag country, which he undertook from June to December 1883. He went a man charged with many duties and injunctions—politically instructed by Mr. Colman Macaulay, geodetically and hypsometrically primed by Colonel Tanner, botanically charged by the Curator of the great Gardens on the Hooghly riverside. "U. G.," as he was designated officially, for his own consolation and assistance was allowed to take with him both his wife and his brother-in-law. The report from which we shall condense the incidents of the journey is that which was drawn up by Sir T. H. Holdich, R.E., from the English narrative written by U. G. himself. We personally have the advantage in addition, of acquaintanceship with the explorer and his wife, whom we have long known. We have here amended the orthography of the place-names, etc.

Quitting Darjeeling June 9th, 1883, the three did not reach the Lachhung Valley in northernmost Sikkim till July 6th. Here he had to bribe the people to help him to gain permission from the Tibetan frontier officer to cross into Tibet. The fact of having his wife with him gave colour to the rôle of religious pilgrim to the sacred shrines which he assumed ; so that by July 19th they were over the lofty Dongkhya Pass and in that verge land of Tibet which Sir J. D. Hooker managed just to enter and gaze round upon. From Hooker's Cholamo Lake the party made their way the next day north-west to the uplands where lie the head waters of the Arun-river of Nepal ; and for two or three days followed the banks of the Arun, halting at two *sonpu* or nunneries on the way.

Proceeding now N.-E. and avoiding Khamba Jong, the travellers crossed a series of passes *en route* for the fertile banks of the Penam Nyang river—the river which flows N. N.-W. eventually into the Tsangpo at Shigatse. Having visited the Shekar monastery, where is a remarkable cavern said once to have been dwelt in by Guru Pema, otherwise Padma Sambhawa, the travellers forded a head-water of the Re Chhu and surmounting a steep Pass, the Pong-gong La, reached at length the margin of the Penam Nyang the evening of July 31st. On August 3rd the important town of Gyangtse was entered.

Having put up for a day with a layman friend of his residing in this town, the next morning they started

down the Nyang valley towards Shigatse, which city was reached in three days. From the 7th to 13th August, Urgyen remained at Shigatse, visiting the sacred places of that city and of Táshi-lhumpo, and performing religious ceremonies. Amongst others he visited "Singchentulku in the upper storey of Thoisamling" and there he took 'sacrament'—or an oath to repeat certain forms of prayer to a *yidam* or tutelary god 3,000 times a day. He speedily found his performance quite incompatible with his secular duties; so he revisited the high priest and begged to be released from his oath. He was duly absolved, and let off with 1,000 incantations, and "as many more as he could manage." At Shigatse he mentions having purchased three good asses at the value of 20 rupees each, but gives no detailed account of the city itself, beyond referring to one large temple to the north of it, the girth of which is 132 paces, and to the monastery of Táshi-lhumpo, wherein he describes a wall 125 feet long and equally high, on which were hung pictures of Buddha in holiday time. This custom is referred to on more than one occasion in his narrative. The height of Shigatse he fixed at 12,350 feet above sea-level by hypsometer.

From Shigatse the road was taken to the east along the south bank of the Tsangpo, which river was followed some 65 miles down to the point where the Rong river from Yamdok lake falls in from the south-east. Here, leaving the Tsangpo, the party journeyed up the Rong in most deplorable condition from the incessant rains and bad nature of the track. How-

ever, 10 days from quitting Shigatse, they arrived at the great lake and found lodging in the famous Samding monastery, an establishment occupied jointly by both monks and nuns under the presidency of the abbess Dorje P'agmo.

Urgyen left his relatives at Samding while he, most energetically and pluckily, started off to explore and make circuit of the great Yamdok lake and its satellite Dūmo Ts'o. Not resting after this, he next turned southward and explored the difficult and elevated regions of Lhobrag being accompanied by his wife and her brother. They went south, even to the very borders of Eastern Bhutan and entered the Tam-shul Valley, skirting also the considerable lakes of P'omo Jang-t'ang Ts'o and Tigu Ts'o. From Tigu lake they passed north into very different country from the icy wind-swept tracts they had been traversing in wandering over the lofty region lying between Yamdok Ts'o and the Bhutan frontiers. They had now entered the Yarlung valley, the most fertile and fruitful in Central Tibet—a valley full both of cultivated flats and of monasteries to devour up the produce.

At the point where the Yarlung flows in from the south, the adventurers found themselves once more on the banks of the great Tsangpo, 120 miles further east from where at the mouth of the Rong Chhu they had before left them. Here they reached the town of Tset'ang (~~Ghet~~'ang), the third largest in Tibet, with much trade both west and south and east, exchanging goods between Lhása and Bhutan and China—a triple

import and export market. Mohammedan shopkeepers were found a great characteristic at Tset'ang and, by contrast, pork was a meat much in demand in the place and very cheap. From Tset'ang the Tsangpo was crossed and the celebrated monastery of Samye visited. Again, crossing to the south bank, Mindol-ling and other places were fully inspected, the course in general being now back towards the west. But, presently, they struck north making now for Lhása ; the route taken being *via* P'uring and Nang-go-song-nga and over the Tungo La to the southern bank of the Kyi Chhu opposite Lhása. But we must describe their actual approach and entry to the world-famed city in some detail. We quote in substance from Colonel (now Sir T. H.) Holdich's able report.

Approaching the river Kyi Chhu, the monastic palace of Tse-chhog-ling was passed on the left, and then the river itself barred the road to Lhása. At the point where U. G. crossed on the 9th October this river is 500 paces broad. He crossed by moonlight under the guidance of certain boatmen who were so drunk as to leave a lasting impression on his mind. From the north bank of the river he made his way by night through marshy ground and under the walls of endless gardens, till he reached the outer circular road of Lhása. Here he was warned beforehand that he would find considerable difficulty in making his way about, on account of the packs of hungry dogs that infest the purlieus of every Tibetan town, and which appear to be specially savage and dangerous about

Lhása. To guard against this difficulty he provided himself with bones, &c., with which he beguiled the dogs as they disputed his way. Thus he passed slowly round, south of Lhása, to the road to the Daipung monastery, at which place he hoped to find friends and shelter. At 2 o'clock in the morning, thoroughly wearied out, he lay down under a tree and considered how he had better conceal his instruments and records whilst staying in a place where he would be subject to such close supervision as Lhása. He hit, at last, on the expedient of placing them all in a bag, sealing it up carefully, and depositing the bag with his friend at Daipung. In the early morning he found to his horror that the place he had selected for sleeping was one of very peculiar sanctity. Sadly, he decided to move on; and this resolution was quickened into activity when he discovered that his resting place, in addition to being specially sacred, was also a special rendezvous for robbers, and that it was only by a miracle indeed that he had not been murdered. Near by this tree he noticed a fine stag of the 'sambhur' species, which had been offered as a gift to the local gods and was allowed to feed at will on the premises. At Daipung monastery he found his friend, who received him hospitably and made both him and his wife welcome. Here the sealed bag was for the present deposited, whilst, with the guidance of a Mongolian priest, U. G. set out to examine the town and find lodgings for his party. His first venture was with a Chinese sergeant of the army, who kept a clean

and tidy house "with a nice place for the gods" and seemed prepared to treat him well. An indiscreet enquiry after the Nepalese resident, however, raised the Chinaman's suspicions. Relations between the Tibetan and Nepalese governments were at that time decidedly strained, and U. G. would have done better to have held his tongue. He and his Mongolian friend were turned out with abuse, and he had to seek a lodging elsewhere. He soon found another house where he was recognised by friends, but this recognition did not save him from having his property thoroughly searched by the police, who had been informed by the Chinese sergeant of his visit. The Dingpon, however, stood by him, and, on his part, informed the Nepalese agent of U. G.'s visit, and procured him an invitation from the agent. With this U. G. lost no time in complying. The Nepal resident's house is close to that of the Chinese resident, and is a large four-storied building. Here U. G. was received with more than ordinary courtesy. He was greeted with the English formula, "How do you do," and was given a seat in the resident's presence, whilst the Dingpon himself stood by "with his hat in his hand." Food was prepared for him, and meanwhile he was kept amused and interested by the resident's conversation and by the pictures that were shewn him of some of the principal buildings in Lhása, including the palace of Potola, and the great monasteries of Tibet. All these pictures were hung with silk. On the whole U. G. had no reason to complain of his reception. He was taken

into the confidence of the Nepalese resident ; and his position in Lhása was, to a certain extent, secured. He then proceeded to his devotional pursuits and commissioned his host to purchase butter wherewith to fill the golden lamps before the shrine of Buddha.

On the 16th October, U. G. commenced a survey of the town of Lhása under cover of an umbrella which he found sufficient to disguise his proceedings. For two days he quietly pursued his way, taking notes when he thought himself beyond reach of observation. He makes it 9,500 paces round the city. He found it necessary to check any intimacy between his wife and the wife of his host, for fear of discovery ; whilst at the same time he extracted much information from his host himself about the Tibetan Government and various ceremonies and religious observances. All these were noted by his wife, who refreshed his memory, when preparing his narrative subsequently.

U. G. ascertained a few facts about the selection of the present Dalai Lama which may be of interest. Formerly (according to U. G.'s informant), a golden vessel was used in which the slips of paper were placed on which were written the names of the selected candidates for the position of Dalai Lama. This was prevented by the present Nái-chung Chhökýong (or chief oracle of Tibet) who prophesied disaster in the shape of a monster appearing as Dalai Lama, if this practice were continued. On the other hand, he foretold that the present ruler would be found by a pious monk in person, and that his discovery would be accompanied

with "horse neighings." The 'pious monk' proved to be the head lama of Galden monastery, who was sent by the oracle to Chukorgye, where he dreamed that he was to look in the lake called Lhamoila-tsho for the future Dalai. He looked, and it is said that, pictured in the bosom of the lake, he saw the infant Dalai Lama and his parents, with the house where he was born, and that at that instant his horse neighed. Then the monk went in search of the real child, and found him in upper Kongpo, in the house of poor but respectable people, and recognised him as the child seen in the lake. After the boy (then a year old) had passed the usual ordeal required of infants in the recognition of the property of the previous Dalai Lama, he was elected as spiritual head of Tibet. U. G. further confirmed the accuracy of Sarat Chandra Dás' statements about the formation of the Tibetan Government. He said that the Desi Gyalpo, the regent of Tibet, who ranks as second only to the Dalai Lama, may be elected from amongst the grand lamas of one of four 'lings' or monasteries, *i.e.* (1) Tsechok ling, (2) Ts'o-moi ling, (3) Kundu-ling, or (4) Tengyai ling. The current regent (or king, as U. G. always calls him) was from Kundu-ling. These spiritual chiefs (for the institution of Desi as a secular ruler of Tibet apparently lapsed about the year 1680 when the Mongolian conquerors of Tibet retired from interference with its government) are all incarnations of one or other of previous statesmen of Tibetan history, and are apparently embodiments of both secular and religious wisdom.

The then regent, *i.e.*, "Kundu-ling," was he said exceedingly popular. He is described as "young, pious and generous-minded" and "very kind to all people."

On the 19th October, 1883, Urgyen packed up and started again from Lhása. For days he had been under apprehension of being recognised again, and he had hardly stirred from his house. With difficulty he raised a pony and saddle to carry him, having no money to purchase them ; but it happened that the wife of his friend the Dingpon was then at Darjeeling, so by giving what he calls a "promissionary note" for 125 rupees (or one Tibetan *do-che*) on Darjeeling he secured the means of travelling in comfort. At dawn next day he visited Chokhang temple and paid his obeisance to the image of Buddha and prayed to him for his blessing. Then he started by the Yuthok Sampø bridge road, passing the 'two-legged' Palpokani chhorten, and leaving Lhása to the east, not failing, however, to take his observations under cover of an umbrella, even before he was clear of the town.

Thence the party made their way by Daipung, Net'ang, and the path southward along the right bank of the Kyi Chhu, to the north side of the Tsangpo, where it is crossed by the now disused iron chain bridge of Chaksam Chhōwori. The river is here given by Urgyen as $\frac{1}{4}$ mile in breadth, and this they were ferried over in a hide boat. Ascending over the Khamba La ridge and down to the margin once more of Yamdok Ts'o, the travellers, not yet contented with past adventures, turned, not west, but again to the east keeping along

the banks of the monster lake. Next they got into Dokpa pasture-lands east of the lake and then made south-west, hugging the lake shore in order to have made a complete circuit of these waters. Thence they made south by a new route, past the west end of the P'omo Jang-t'ang lake, to the Robsang Pass. Keeping south-west, they pointed for the head of the Chhumbi Valley.

The party entered this great valley near Phari, which place they avoided for fear of recognition, passing it by night. When the town of Chhumbi was reached, their relatives dwelling there met the weary travellers secretly in one of the many caves near by and feasted them in honour of their safe return. They made their way into Sikkim from Chhumbi not by the Jelep La but by the Cho La, where Urgyen closed his long and diligent pace-and-compass route survey. The date was November 17th. Making his way, with many halts, Pemiongchi monastery, in Sikkim, was reached December 7th and Darjeeling on the 15th.

Colonel Holdich added in his report: "Thus ends one of the best records of Tibetan travel that has yet been achieved by any agent of the Survey of India."

MESSRS. CAREY AND DALGLEISH IN NORTHERN TIBET.

Northern Tibet, with its stretches of sandy waste, volcanic ranges, and grassy savannahs, is styled by a portion of the Tibetans of West and Central Tibet the "Changt' ang" or "northern plains." Several

travellers have explored these tracts in various directions in recent years ; among these may be mentioned Majors Wellby and Deasy, Mons. Bonvalot, Mr. and Mrs. Littledale (with Mr. Fletcher) and, more than once, Sven Hedin. Moreover, several of the Russian explorers have made detours in and out of it from the north. However, the first Europeans to traverse it from west to east, and indeed the first to explore it at all (save in the fringes of it), were Messrs. Carey and Dalglish.

Mr. A. D. Carey, of the Bombay Civil Service, having two years of furlough at his disposal, in 1885 went on a journey through Chinese Turkistan and North Tibet entirely at his own expense. He was accompanied by a paid assistant, a young man named Andrew Dalglish, and together they surmounted 4,750 miles lying between long. 77° and 97° , that is nearly 20 degrees of longitude, besides ten degrees of latitude.

Starting from Leh in Ladak in July 1885, they proceeded eastwards to the Changchenmo Valley, and then struck across the uninhabited tract of the Aksai Chin 16,000 to 17,000 feet above the sea, which lies between Nubra and Khoten in Kashgaria. This route lay considerably to the east of any route previously travelled by a European, but had been successfully traversed in previous years by one of the native explorers of the Indian Survey. It passes the Mangtsa Ts'o and crosses the so-called Kuen Lun range, which constitutes the northern scarp of Tibet, and it then descends into the plains of Eastern Turkistan *via* Polu and Keria. The crossing is between the meridians of

81° and 82°, to the west of which the range is well known from actual survey; eastwards, up to the meridian of 90°, it is almost unknown, but it probably lies to the north of the 36th parallel, and has first a north-easterly and then an easterly direction.

This route from the Tibetan plateau by Polu, which crosses the Sulphur-horse Pass, is not recommended by Mr. Carey, as it is impracticable for baggage animals.

Arrived at Keria, the travellers had now to turn west again in order to reach the large town of Khoten. Keria is connected with Khoten by a good bridged road with well-grown roadside trees, affording a grateful shade wherever the soil admits of it. Substantial marks have also been erected at intervals of a "fotai," or about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles. The road passes through a good deal of very barren country. Leaving Khoten October 16th, 1885, they followed the Yurunkhash river to its point of junction with the Karakhash (68 miles), vainly endeavouring to overtake a party under Przhevalsky which had left a few days earlier.

After journeying from Khoten round towards Lob Nor, through the northern portion of the Tarim basin, Mr. Carey reached the settlement of Tsaklik where he stayed two months. Leaving Tsaklik on May 1st, 1886, the travellers crossed the Altan Tag and Chaman Tag ranges, the latter by the Amban Ashkan Pass, a route some distance to the west of that taken by Przhevalsky, and afterwards struck at right angles across the celebrated Russian traveller's westernly route when exploring a plateau, between the Chaman

Tagh and Kuen Lun, to which he has given the name of the Valley of the Winds, and along which he believes lay a route of importance in ancient times from Turkistan to China. After travelling for some distance eastwards along the northern base of the Kuen Lun, under circumstances of great privation, Mr. Carey succeeded in discovering a path across the range into the valley between it and the Kōkōshili range to the south, and eventually he struck the trade route between Koko Nor and Lhása, a little below the Angyer-taksha Pass, by which it crosses the Kuen Lun. Turning northwards at this point, though strongly tempted to make south towards Lhása, the party crossed the Pass and also the Naichi Pass, a very steep one. The game near these passes was noted as surprisingly abundant, comprising thousands of antelopes, together with yak and wild asses. On July 25th, 1886, they camped near the Naichi Gol; and thence Mr. Carey wandered without his companion in search of Mongol settlements where food stores might be purchased. Being unsuccessful, the camp was moved on over the Sosani Pass and into the Thaichinar district of Tsaidam.

Mr. Carey now found himself quite in the Tsaidam region, and made an interesting circuit from a place called Golmo (where his caravan was in the meantime left to recruit), and back to the same point. During this excursion a good deal was seen of the nomadic Kalmuks and Mongols who inhabit the comparatively low-lying valleys of Tsaidam. They seem to have been peacefully inclined, but not over hospitable, and

frequently refused to part with either food or grain in exchange for money. Eventually in the autumn, Mr. Carey without Mr. Dalglish made a second journey over the Kuen Lün. He made due south to the base of the Kōkōshili range which extends as far east as this point. Here he found the Chhu Mar River ; and then, again, turning northward, struck straight across the Tsaidam country over the Humboldt range to Sachu and Hamil, whence he travelled to Urumtsi, in the Tien Shan, which place is now the capital of Chinese Turkistan. Here the party was well received by the Chinese governor and despatched to Yarkand, where it arrived early in 1887, and whence a start was made on the 7th March for Ladak. They reached Ladak the middle of April 1887.

Mr. Carey was awarded the Founder's Medal by the Royal Geographical Society. He paid a high tribute to the talents and services of Mr. Dalglish when his paper was read at the Society's meeting in London. As to Mr. Dalglish, he certainly had all the endowments of an explorer ; but his career afterwards was a short one. Having turned his abilities to trading operations in Kashgar and Turkistan, he took up his residence at Yarkand ; but he was murdered by robbers in those lawless regions near the Karakorum Pass, a very few years later (in 1888).

MR. ROCKHILL'S FIRST JOURNEY.

We now come to the first of the series of rapid trips into or across Tibet made in recent years by gentlemen

possessed both of sufficient daring and determination to sustain the exploit and of sufficient attainments to make their observations and narratives of real geographical value. These adventurous rushes into or across the country were more or less strategic enterprises which would never have been accomplished save by secret preparations and by the possession of ample pecuniary resources. Unlike the native agents despatched by the Survey of India, Europeans could not hope to preserve their incognita through any substantial portion of their travels. Passing over the frontier in some desolate and unguarded quarter, and making forced marches through uninhabited districts until they were far within the interior, even if turned back or resolutely opposed by the authorities, such tactics ensured a real traverse, and in some instances a careful survey, through much unexplored territory.

The earliest among the educated travellers who in the last 15 years succeeded in thus penetrating far into these unknown regions was an American gentleman, Mr. Woodville Rockhill, who, while attached to the United States Embassy at Peking, had ardently pursued the study of the Tibetan language.

Mr. Rockhill determined on a serious attempt to reach Lhása ; and decided to follow in the main the route which had been so successfully adopted by Messrs. Huc and Gabet, 43 years before. Setting forth from Peking in December 1888, Sining in the Nan Shan range was reached the following February. Thence the traveller took the opportunity of visiting Kumbum. the

great monastery just outside the confines of north-east Tibet, his notice of which is a valuable complement to Huc's graphic description. Rockhill, like Huc, was present at the famous festival when the huge bas-reliefs of butter are exhibited. Journeying by way of Kōkō Nor, he penetrated Tsaidam, staying at several important monasteries there, and trying to amass supplies for his raid to Lhása. Indeed by April 1889, in spite of opposition from his Mongol acquaintance in Tsaidam, he was well over the bounding ranges and some distance on the road to the capital of Tibet. But the fates, which have hitherto governed Tibetan travel, ruled this journey likewise. Want of guides, of beasts of burden, and of means to purchase a further passage, obliged him to abandon his plan when he had advanced a little further inland than did Przhevalsky. Yet the dauntless American determined to continue in the country; only changing his route from the Lhása road to one in a due southernly direction. Thence he opened out much new ground in Tibet itself, though in the main he traversed the course which A. K. had taken in 1882. His accounts of the more easternly sources of the Hoangho, and of the busy centres, Derge, Dzogchen, Kangdze, and Gye-kündō, chief towns of districts in East Tibet, are new and of value; and when he reached Darchendo, he could boast of having journeyed 650 miles through the heart of the province of Khams, whither no European had ever preceded him.

CHAPTER X.

EXPLORERS DURING THE NINETIES: BONVALOT, ROCKHILL, BOWER, EUTREUIL DE RHINS, ETC. ETC.

THE BONVALOT EXPEDITION.

TURNING to Mons. Bonvalot's performances, we have a flight through the country of a rather pretentious and startling character. This gentleman, together with Prince Henry of Orleans and Father Dedeken, a Belgian priest, may be admitted to have accomplished a journey at the time both unique and stupendous. They entered the desolate steppes of the extreme north of Tibet in the depth of winter, namely, in January 1890. Having crossed two of the loftiest ranges of mountains in Central Asia, namely, the Akka Tag and the Chaman Tag with the thermometer from 29 to 40 degrees below zero, they kept a course due south, some 600 miles in length, mostly in longitude 91° E., where neither food nor fuel was obtainable. Then in three-and-a-half months after quitting the Lob Nor district, they camped on the shores of Namts'o Chhyidmo, only 95 miles northwest of Lhása. Mons. Bonvalot, when interviewed, explained that the real reason he did not visit Lhása itself—Lhása, the El Dorado of all modern travellers

—was merely that “he did not care to do so” ! His published narrative, however, tells a different story ; recounting that a band of officials from Lhása forced him to turn away to the north-east, whence, by a subsequent course due east by Dam and Chhamdo, the party at length made Bat’ang, where they were hospitably received by their countrymen, the missionaries. The track taken by these Frenchmen, through the untrodden wilds just south of the Kuen Lün mountains, was certainly both new and bold. They re-christened the Chaman range “ Christopher Columbus ” and the Kōkōshili range “Przhevalsky”; also they discovered and promptly named a new range which they called “Dupleix.” Unfortunately, of the topography, ethnology, or resources, of the novel territory traversed, little definite is recorded. It is the lively narrative of a joyous youth. Perhaps it is this deficiency which at first caused many critics in England to doubt the *bona fides* of the recital. Accepting the narrative faithfully, at best the journey seems to have been but a wild gallop, and in no sense an exploration. The incidental meteorological information, if it is to be relied upon, has some value ; and the spoils of the chase which were brought home to Paris were of interest to zoological students. The travellers, furthermore, noted having descried volcanoes in active condition in North Tibet ; so at least it seems to the reader. But, allowing something for the arduous nature of the exploit and for the unscientific characters of the person concerned, a hap hazard dash of this sort

cannot rank much above a sporting expedition over new and unshot grounds. However, in the zoological department, we are told, more than one addition to the known fauna of Tibet was made.

CAPTAIN BOWER AND DR. THOROLD.

A thoroughly new departure in the exploration of the country has next to be recorded. Captain Bower, already known to fame as a traveller in Turkistan and as the discoverer of the Bower MS., made secret preparations for entering Tibet by a new route, namely, from the northern parts of Ladak adjoining the Lingzhi T'ang, and for attempting a rapid march right across the Tibetan territory from north-west to the far south-east. This daring project, wonderful to relate, was actually carried out in its entirety; and its success appears to have been due as much to the secrecy with which the expedition was set on foot as to the dauntless determination of the travellers. There was no public blare of trumpets as to what they intended to do as in the case of the Przhevalsky and other expeditions; all intentions were concealed and everything managed so quietly that, until the exploit was accomplished, no one outside a very small circle of friends knew that it had been contemplated. Thus the Tibetan and Chinese authorities were unapprized of the attempt beforehand and had no opposition prepared.

Captain Bower, the organiser of the project, was joined by Surgeon-Captain Thorold of the Indian

Medical Service ; and the Survey Department contributed a member in the person of Atma Ram, a young native surveyor who had been initiated into the duties required of a Tibetan explorer by special training at Dehra Dun.

Journeying up the Changchenmo Valley to the north, the party made for the Lanak Pass into Tibet, a point first fixed years ago by the lamented Captain Bassevi, who died while at work in these lonely valleys 17,000 feet above sea-level.

So lofty are the shallow valleys of this desolate region that the dark bounding ridges, singularly Cornish in aspect, are little higher than those flat-bottomed depressions so characteristic of Tibet. Thus the Lanak La is a very low and easy pass, the ascent hardly noticeable. Captain Bower, Dr. Thorold, and Atma Ram crossed into Tibet this way without any let or difficulty on 3rd of July 1891.

Here they found themselves in a lake country remarkable for its extraordinary altitude as well as for the large size of some of the elevated sheets of water. They were not, however, the first Englishmen to penetrate this unique tract. In the western portion of it Messrs. Carey and Dalglish had been there before them ; but these had turned off due north before the more remarkable lakes had been revealed. The Bower party proceeded directly E. S.-E., and thus was the first to open to our knowledge a lacustrine region which contains the highest-situated lakes in the world.

Directing their course due east, two or three hundred miles were travelled through these northern districts of Tibet. The country, though lying at an elevation mostly of at least 16,000 feet, proved not unfertile. There was generally sufficient and often even luxuriant pasture for the sheep and beasts of burden. And here in these lofty regions Dr. Thorold found the bulk of his collection of plants and flowers with their big roots and diminutive stalks and ground-clinging leafage. All this way they went unmolested. Twelve days after entering Tibet an encampment of nomads had been found and guides engaged; but from there not a single dwelling place was encountered in 300 miles! They still went east, yet never descended to quite 15,000 feet; and they encountered nobody. Now and then a few tents or some horsemen were seen in the distance; but these lands were practically uninhabited, and no one came directly in their line of march.

About August 23rd they had proceeded as far to the east as long. 86°, and had travelled some 500 miles from the Lanak Pass. They were now in the region of the great salt lakes which occupy the sub-northern tracts of Central Tibet; and they began to fall in with parties of herdsmen. From some of these Dokpas they purchased sheep, salt, and barley-meal. On the 28th August they encamped at Zita, a spot on the shores of a vast lake named Chuktsi Ts'o, and for the first time descended to an elevation so low as 14,600 feet. The people they met now proved troublesome

and even insolent, forbidding them to advance further until communications should be sent to the higher authorities of the district. No heed was paid to these hinderers at first ; and the journey pursued in spite of threats. At length, when Captain Bower had reached a place known as Gargalingchen, on the shores of the great lake Garing or Kyaring Ts'o, the date being September 7th, the opposition to forward progress became so persistent that he was fain to come to an understanding. Accordingly, he agreed to go no further until word had been received from Lhása. But when the agents sent from Lhása arrived at Gargalingchen, the orders they brought were : "Back to Ladak the way you came." Of course Bower was not the man to assent to a retreat. But to continue the march towards Lhása now seemed impossible ; and at last a compromise was agreed to. The party were still to proceed to the Chinese frontier across Tibet ; but they were to make first a wide detour to the north, thereafter continuing the route eastwards. One advantage gained by compliance would be that henceforward they would be travellers proceeding under the authority of the Tibetan Government and entitled to assistance at the various settlements and villages passed on their journey.

Going first west in actual retracement of their steps for five marches, they reached the south-west corner of Chargut Ts'o on October 9th. Thence their course was due north-north-east for 15 or 16 days, when at length a direct progress eastwards was permitted and

they passed the meridian of Lhása some 220 miles north of that city. They were now in the country of yak-and-horse-rearing tribes and were well received by the headman of each tribe. Slanting E. S.-E. across the early waters of the Gyama Ngul Chhu or Salwin River, they came into the region of stone-built houses and lamasseries. The large Sok Gompa was reached on December 1st. Their way now took over many passes from river-valley to river-valley, with considerable cultivation along the different river banks; the altitude of the valleys averaging 13,000 feet. Passing through the great Khyungpo country, peopled by the votaries of the Bon faith, a religion professedly antagonistic to orthodox Buddhism, on the 24th December the beautiful valley wherein the celebrated Riwochhe Gompa stands was reached. Here were seen a new order of vegetation and river-slopes thickly timbered.

The next point of importance was the city of Chhamdo. Bower was anxious to visit this the greatest trading-centre in East Tibet; but the officials of the place who came out to meet him dissuaded him from actually entering the town. It is densely populated and possesses several fine monasteries, two of which harbour over 2,000 inmates each. Huc and Gabet had stayed there in 1846. Passing within view of the temples of Chhamdo, the party encamped some five miles beyond it at an altitude of 11,840 feet, on New Year's Day 1892. From thence the excitement of the journey may be said to have ended. Traversing the various petty states that compose the extensive

Province of Kham, each with its semi-independent chieftain, by the same route which was taken by Messrs. Huc and Gabet 45 years before, they received supplies at the villages and were usually sheltered in regular rest-houses. The travellers finally made Bá-t'ang on January 22nd ; and, after three days' sojourn, started eastwards again for Li-t'ang and Ta-chien-lu, which latter place was gained February 10th, 1892. There the adventurous trip was practically brought to a close. The distance covered from the Lanak Pass was 2,080 miles.

As a result of the journey much new territory in the north-west and centre of Tibet was roughly mapped ; many new lakes were reported and their positions, if not their outlines, approximately located ; and the situations of several topographical points hitherto indefinitely indicated by former travellers, or marked in the Chinese maps, were more accurately adjusted. Dr. Thorold's contributions to zoology and botany were also valuable ; among the mammals being a new stag now known as *Cervus Thoroldi*.

MISS TAYLOR'S JOURNEY.

A Miss Annie Taylor, who had been for some years a teacher in a Presbyterian mission-school in Darjeeling, had transferred her services to China. Having learned Tibetan at Darjeeling, she resolved, if possible, to reach Lhása for missionary purposes from the Chinese side of Tibet. Most daring was her line of action. She went on her own account to reside in the Chinese

province of Kansu not far from the Koko Nor district. Absolutely isolated from all Europeans and all other missionaries, she continued there more than a year, associating with the many Tibetans of that region and living altogether as a native. At length the opportunity for her venture seemed to have really come ; and she started on her journey across the frontier into the Tibetan districts south of the Hoang Ho. Unfortunately she had taken into her confidence a cunning and ruffianly Tibetan named No-ga who with his wife encouraged the enterprise, apparently with the sole object of betraying Miss Taylor eventually to the authorities and thus obtaining for his perfidy some large reward. These two, together with an infant-child and three other Tibeto-Chinese, accompanied the enthusiastic woman.

The record of her route, as given by Miss Taylor, does not enable one to trace the course of her journey with any sort of exactitude. The geographical knowledge possessed by the good lady was of the vaguest character, and such powers of observation as she possessed were evidently impeded by the terrible hardships she endured. She seems to have crossed the Hoang Ho into the Amdo province of Tibet early in September 1892. Travelling south-west through this bandit-land she at length reached Gye-gündo or Gye-gyu (her "Kegu"), a large town. Turning now more decidedly west, she was taken across the headwaters of the Chhamdo Chhu (which ultimately develops into the Mekhong). Thence was she dragged

by a way hitherto unknown and indeed rarely followed, through a maze of hideous mountain regions; and here the poor lady's chief troubles began. The Tibetan servant above-named started a system of bullying and even of ill-treatment. Finally, after robbing her of nearly everything, he left her with one or two of her men and travelled on rapidly ahead with the view of having her arrested as an Englishwoman. However, after spending some days in a miserable condition in a cave, Miss Taylor struggled on, crossing Captain Bower's route near Sok Gompa, she passing south-west while he had been going south-east. Having forded the Ur Chhu and Bo Chhu, early tributaries of the Salwin, she arrived, after incredible hardships, undergone during the depth of winter, close to Ngagchhukha (Napchu), 12 days' journey from Lhása. There she was stopped by the Tibetan officials, who, nevertheless, seem to have recognised both her nationality and her bravery and to have treated her with kindness. Her traitorous servant had fled, after giving information.

Miss Taylor was now sent back, partly, according to the usual course adopted towards intruding strangers, "by the way she had come," but only as far as Gye-gündo. Thence she was permitted to turn south-east by the ordinary official and trade-route to Bát'ang, Lit'ang, and Ta-chien-lu, reaching the latter place on April 12th, 1893, and then proceeding down the Yangtse-kiang to Shanghai.

There is little doubt that both her sex and her knowledge of the language would have proved sufficient

disguise to enable this good lady to have penetrated even to Lhása, if she had not fallen into such bad hands from the beginning of her enterprise. She, at least, has earned the celebrity of being the first European woman to enter Tibet.

SECOND JOURNEY OF MR. ROCKHILL.

The American scholar and traveller, Mr. W. W. Rockhill, made a second attempt to get to the capital of Tibet, early in the year 1892.

Having easily reached the neighbourhood of Sining, he took up his old quarters in the town or *de-sho* of the great Kumbum Monastery. Beasts of burden and supplies having been purchased there and camp-followers engaged, he started on his adventure, March 14th, 1892. He had five men with him, ponies, mules two cotton tents, 1,500lbs. weight of baggage, including goods for barter, and, as pecuniary medium, 1,000 ounces of silver with 500 rupees in coin.

Instead of taking the ordinary route along the shores of Kōkō Nor, he crossed the mountains to the south of the lake and journeyed along their southern base due west into Tsaidam. Visiting Shang and Barong in the Tsaidam in order to negotiate for a guide, he eventually obtained the services of the headman of Golmo in that capacity. The terms with this man were that if Mr. Rockhill reached Tengri Nor, he would be paid a reward of 50 ounces of silver, but that if they managed to get as far as Tashilhümpo then that sum would be increased to 100 ounces.

On May 30th, the range to the south of the Naichi Gol was surmounted, and they camped the next day on the banks of the Chhu Mar, a big river which must not be confounded with the Má Chhu or Hoang Ho.¹ Being now quite within Tibet, the course was shaped south-south-west directly towards the heart of the land. Range after range of the mighty mountains running west and east were crossed, the Kōkōshili on June 5th, the Dungbura on June 16th ; and the great Dang-la chain (noted in Huc's travels as "the Tant La" mountains) was at length actually reached. Mr. Rockhill did not cross this range there, but turned his course due west keeping along the northern base. Indeed, he hardly seems to have crossed the actual Dang-la range, as he proceeded to a point where they round off to the south ; thence making his own way south up a valley between two southernly-trending ranges.

Mr. Rockhill was here at the easternmost border of the great salt-lake district of North-Central Tibet, that district east of Chargut Ts'o and north of Tengri Nor first traversed by Bower and Thorold. In fact, Mr. Rockhill brought to light the very easternmost lake of that vast series, namely, the Chhib-chang Ts'o, to which he has attached the new title of Lake Glenelg. The daring traveller was now indeed progressing towards Lhása and was in truth now almost in the meridian of that city. So, hereabouts, on July 1st, he

¹ *Chhu Mar* means "red river," *Má Chhu* "peacock river." The former develops into the Di Chhu and eventually into the Yangtse Kiang.

seems to have veered due south, making, as it were, directly for his goal. But, alas, this was again not to be ; and the cause was the paramount one of failure of provisions.

Veritable starvation was already staring them in the face ; and they were, moreover, in this dilemma. They would most certainly very soon fall in with Tibetan nomads from whom food could be readily procured by purchase ; but intercourse of that kind would practically mean the end of their journey Lhása-wards. All the Dokpa tribes just there, being under direct Lhása rule and under stringent injunctions to report all advancing strangers, could not fail to give the alarm to the authorities after any dealings with these unknown and unrecognizable travellers. And thus in truth it turned out. Sheep, butter, and cheese were indeed bought soon from one set of herdsmen ; and still the party journeyed on southwards as yet unopposed. Presently, however, they reached the Ngamru district, some three days north of Tengri Nor, where were found Lhása traders who offered to sell them barley-meal and other necessities. Suspicion, nevertheless, had been aroused. Next day, a few men of the district came to Rockhill's tent and begged him to remain camped where he was until the Chief of the Ngamru tribe could be sent for to talk with him. They had all received orders from Lhása to suffer no one to pass southwards through their country ; and if Rockhill would now rest awhile until the chief came, supplies free of charge would be given him. Being

without food of any kind, the travellers were obliged to accede, and were at once furnished with tea, mutton, barley-meal, milk, and clotted cream.

The result of the conference with the Deba or Chief was that Mr. Rockhill promised to desist from taking any further marches directly to the south, but obtained permission to journey south-east towards Chhamdo and Bát'ang. An escort of Ngamru men was told off to accompany them; and on July 13th the party set out first northwards and then by a detour south-east; ultimately, on the 24th, reaching a camp on the Dang Chhu which, lying as it does on the direct Ngagchhu (Napchu) route, was the point nearest to Lhása which Mr. Rockhill attained to. There a short halt was made; and, after a final interview with the Ngagchhukha Chief, the travellers turned their backs on Central Tibet, crossed the Dang Chhu, and steered in earnest towards the Chinese frontier.

Mr. Rockhill's route was now in general direction identical with that taken by Captain Bower seven months previously. His course east-south-east followed a line of march rather to the south of Captain Bower's track; but, like the latter traveller, he crossed the Sok Chhu (wrongly styled by Mr. Rockhill "Su Chhu") and other head waters of the Gyama Ngul Chhu or Salwin River, traversed the great Khyungpo districts¹ (styled by Mr. Rockhill *Gyáde*, i.e., "Chinese

¹ The natives peopling these districts seem to be of the Pön or Bon religion professedly anti-Buddhistic, though really in many respects borrowing theories from Buddhism. As the Khyung or Garuda bird is the typical Pön deity, its

districts'), and eventually joined the routes previously taken by both the Bonvalot and the Bower parties at Riwochhe. Thence making for Chhamdo (which lies 34 miles east of Riwochhe), Mr. Rockhill was persuaded, as were the other two parties before him, not to pass through this great town itself. So, on August 27th, he turned southwards away from Chhamdo and, traversing the petty principalities of Khams, eventually arrived on September 15th at that haven of refuge of so many Tibetan explorers, the town of Bât'ang. Thence, in the ordinary course to Lit'ang and Ta-chien-lu; finally, by way of the Yangtsekiang, reaching Shanghai in safety on October 5th, exactly eleven months since he had quitted it.

"In this time," writes Mr. Rockhill, "I had travelled about 8,000 miles, surveyed 3,417, and, during the geographically important part of the journey, crossed 69 passes, all of them rising over 14,500 feet above sea-level. I had taken a series of sextant observations at 100 points, made 300 photographs, collected between 3 and 400 ethnological, botanical and geological specimens. For two months we had lived soaked by the rains and blinded by snow and hail, with little or nothing to eat, and tea as our only beverage; and yet not one of us had a moment's illness from the day we left till we reached our homes again."

TRAVELS OF DUTREUIL DE RHINS AND FERNAND GRENARD—MURDER OF MONS. DE RHINS.

During the years 1891 and 1892 two French gentlemen of adventurous spirit, Messieurs Dutreuil de Rhins and Fernand Grenard, made various minor explorations in Chinese Turkistan and Ladak, the town of Khoten in the former country being taken as a centre from which to work. Thence they sallied forth, visiting the Keria oasis, the Karakorums, Leh, Tanktse, etc., etc. In 1893, animated by Mons. Bonvalot's success in crossing Tibet, they determined upon a more ambitious expedition, namely, if possible to penetrate even unto Lhása.

Starting from Khoten, May 4th, 1893, with a considerable caravan both of horse and camels, they were soon arrived at Cherchen, Here they remained some time and did not leave until September 1st when they were fortunate enough to strike a new Pass, to the south of that settlement, over the Akka Tag. Once over the Pass, Mons. Grenard writes: "It was a rough experience; and this journey in the midst of such desolate and infinite solitudes was one of inexpressible melancholy. Each day one traversed arid valleys more than 5,000 metres in altitude, we skirted blue lakes, and we surmounted passes laden with snow. Each evening one beheld before one white mountains displaying their majestic and icy masses, valleys stretched out mournful and sterile, lakes expanding their blue waters all motionless and evaporating with melancholy in the sun. All nature was robed

in silence, and one might have fancied one's self transported to some olden world that had lain dead for centuries—except for the rushing of the wind which blew furiously, as if it wished to roll aside the impassable summits of the mountains. This pitiless wind, which was accompanied by a cold of 35° below freezing point, penetrated into us even to the marrow and peeled the skin from our face and our hands."

Nevertheless the plucky pair pushed on stubbornly southwards—always due south. At length, after a march of 56 days in this direction, they changed their course suddenly to east-south-east. This was on November 3rd, and four days later the monotony of silence and desolation was broken. The travellers saw human beings; they encountered Tibetans of the Dogpa race. Fearful that through this meeting some announcement of their approach might be passed on to Lhása, it was now determined to press forward even more quickly than before. Continuing the new direction of east-south-east, they made forced marches, and by December 1st (three months after leaving Cherchen) the travellers had positively gained the very shores of the famous Tengri Nor or Namts'o Chhidmo—at that time previously visited by two other Europeans only, and those, two Frenchmen like themselves. They were thus at length actually only six days' easy marching from the goal of ambition, the sacred Lhása. Says Mons. Grenard: "Nous avons touché le but; mais, quoique nous fussions près de la capitale du Thibet, la nature ne se faisait

guère plus clément, et le pays était toujours bien triste avec ses montagnes de neige, ses vallées sans arbres, presque sans vie ; seulement ça et là quelques troupeaux errants passaient l'herbe courte et dure ; et dans les coins les mieux abrités se blottissaient quelques tentes noires et misérables."

They had not been in the valleys bordering Tengri Nor more than a day-and-a-half when there approached, as might have been foretold, a messenger from Lhása. He bore a courteous request from the *Dewa Zhung* or Tibetan Government that the strangers should not advance further until certain special functionaries from the capital should arrive to confer with them. Being short of provisions and dispirited by the rigours of December at an altitude of 14,000 feet, the travellers consented ; and de Rhins dictated a letter to the Chinese Amban craving permission to enter the holy city just to rest and to re-constitute his caravan.

Presently there appeared an embassy from Lhása, thus composed : (1) the *Daloye* or adjutant of the Senior Amban, together with three Chinese military officers ; (2) a couple of highly-placed Tibetans, one religious, the other lay ; (3) three lamas representing respectively the great monasteries of Sera, Galdan, and Daipung. The usual *non possumus* argument met the travellers. As to the Tibetan members of the commission, they were "très humble, affirmaient qu'ils n'agissaient que conformément aux ordres des autorités chinoises." The head Chinaman, for his part, cast the responsibility of this refusal upon the

Tibetan functionaries, savages, he said, incapable of comprehending anything reasonable. "You and I on the contrary," he added, "we are acquainted with the rules of common sense and civility, and if you had only a passport from Peking, I would do myself a pleasure to conduct you into Lhása against every obstacle."

At length the travellers, unable to confute such objections, demanded a permit and beasts of burden to Dam (which lies to the south-east of the eastern termination of the Noi jin Tangla range), 100 miles or so north of Lhása. At first any such concession was scouted; but eventually and suddenly all points were yielded on condition that the party came no nearer to Lhása than they had done. Accordingly Ngagchhu (a spot specially described by Mons. Huc under the name of Naptchu) lying on the main caravan route between Lhása and Sining was made the first objective. To reach this place, the travellers separated, Dutreuil de Rhins making directly for Ngagchhu, and Mons. Grenard proceeding thither by Dam and the Dam Largan La in order that he might follow a route tallying exactly with Mons. Bonvalot's. By January 27th, 1894, both had reached Ngagchhu. Here the caravan was re-supplied with draught animals which were now to consist mainly of yaks, beasts most facile in getting along through the heavy snow-drifts they were bound to encounter. However, the bad weather, together with an attack of bronchitis which beset Dutreuil de Rhins, detained the party unexpectedly,

and it was not until the 7th of March that they were able to set out, as they thought, *en route* for Sining. In reality, without knowing it, they took the most northern of the trade routes leading from Lhása to Bát'ang, which made necessary a lengthy and, as it proved, fatal detour later on in order to regain the right direction.

The way now taken from Ngagchhu pursued an entirely unexplored line of march and was chiefly inhabited by Tibetans professing the Bon religion. These people seemed to be inimicable to the Lhása Government and professed on that very ground to welcome the travellers. On March 25th, 1894, the party passed up and over the Sok Gya-ma La, a Pass of 5,380 metres altitude. Here they lost their last two camels in a snow-drift. Precipitous paths, rendered more dangerous by avalanches and by blockades of snow, had usually to be followed. From the Sok valley they journeyed across the Ghiring La and the Dam Tao La, each covered to a depth of three feet with soft snow. Next over the Nyakha Marpo, whence they reached the source of the Tao Chhu—the most southern affluent of the Yangtse-kiang. “Nous étions alors sur le territoire des Thibétains DOUNGPA, dont l'un des chefs s'offrit lui-même à nous guider jusqu'au pays des Guédji, tribu nombreuse et puissante, nous dit-il. Les DOUNGPA leur sont très inférieurs. Ils ne possèdent pas de monastères et c'est vraisemblablement la raison pour laquelle nous ne fûmes pas mal accueillis chez eux, bien qu'ils soient

bouddhistes orthodoxes. Ils entretiennent également d'assez bonnes relations avec leurs voisins *peun-bo* (= *Bon* or *Pön*) malgré quelques vols réciproques de chevaux et de yaks."

Having crossed the Dzanag-lung-mug Pass on April 8th, they were cheered by making what they held rightly or wrongly to be a great discovery. From the other or eastern descent of the Pass, which is 5,260 metres in height, they found coming down a stream which they identified as the most western source of the Mekhong River. This Lung-mug Chhu caused them to forget all the miseries hitherto endured; it was an important achievement to have made such a discovery. "Une fois les sources du Mékong bien déterminées, Dutreuil de Rhins avait l'intention d'aller rejoindre au nord la route de Si-ning. Mais nos yaks avaient besoin d'être renouvelés et nos provisions d'être doublées pour nous permettre de gagner Si-ning par cette route, déserte presque jusqu'au bout."

Luckily they here chanced to meet with five young lamas from Amdo and Kansu who were returning from a pilgrimage to Lhása; and these offered to be their companions to the well-known town of Gye-gündo whence the track north to Sining could be easily followed. Moreover, at Gye-gündo or at Tashi Gompa, a monastery *en route* where a fair was in progress, supplies and yaks would be readily procurable. Joining company with this jaunty crew, the two Frenchmen followed the course of the Lung-mug stream to

its junction with the main river the Dza Chhu ; and, on April 16th, the party reached Tashi Gomba on the banks of that river. The monastic fair had attracted people from all round ; but no business of any use to the travellers was to be done there.

Their future movements now seemed simple. They were to make eventually for Sining, but to proceed thither *viâ* Gye-gündo, which latter place was stated to be 15 days' march from Tashi Gomba in easy stages ; and they were also to prosecute by the way "importantes reconnaissances dans le bassin du Mékong." As it was believed to be absolutely impracticable to descend any further down the Dza Chhu valley, the travellers beguiled a halt of five days by exploring right up a large mountain-locked affluent which ran into the Dza from the north and which was styled the Purdung Chhu. "We penetrated unto its utmost sources, into solitudes of eternal snow, to the foot of an impassable barrier, and here was the northern limit of the basin of the Mékong."

Resuming the proper route on May 2nd, they surmounted the next day a formidable pass of 17,500 feet, the Dze La, from which they found on the other side there was descending the initiatory stream of the Dze Chhu, yet another affluent of the Dza Chhu and so, too, of the Mekhong. Keeping to the course of this affluent for seven days (and now accompanied by only one of the young lamas as paid guide, the others having remained feasting at Tashi fair), they then should have left the Mekhong basin ; but the

fascination of exploration enchainé the ardent Dutreuil and they still followed the Dze Chhu. In these parts they found all the inhabitants particularly churlish and unfriendly and yet unbounded in their impudence and inquisitiveness. The travellers, also, had their own kind of curiosity, but it was of an absorbingly topographical nature. They left their caravan once more ; and, to quote again Mons. Grenard : “ Nous nous p^âssâmes du concours de nos voisins pour reconnaître le cours du Dze Chhu en aval. Après cinq heures de marche nous fûmes arrêtés par une muraille gigantesque de rochers à travers laquelle la rivière se taille un passage étroit où elle coule, rapide, profonde, et encombrée de gros blocs de pierre. Il n’y avait absolument pas moyen d’escalader la montagne. Dutreuil de Rhins, pour voir si l’on pouvait suivre le lit même de la rivière, poussa bravement sa monture dans l’eau mugissante. Le cheval, faillant trouver la roche, nous dûmes faire un long chemin pour essayer de tourner l’obstacle. Nous allâmes camper au sommet d’un col juste aussi haut que le Mont Blanc, sur la route de Tchamdo, et le jour suivant nous réussîmes par une gorge profonde à gagner de nouveau le Dze Tchou. Un spectacle extraordinaire nous attendait. En amont et en aval la rivière, large de quelques pieds, court, pressée, entre, deux parois de rochers hautes de plusieurs centaines de mètres et qui semblent rigoureusement verticales. On dirait que la montagne a été tranchée à la scie. On est obligé de renverser complètement la tête en arrière pour

apercevoir un petit ruban de ceil sur lequel les crêtes des rochers dessinent leur dentelle grise. Cela se continue pendant je ne sais combien de lieues avec des sinuosités capricieuses.”

Once more rejoining their little band, the proper route onwards to Gye-gündo was resumed. Traversing vast valleys and low passes they at length gained, by way of the Poroka La, the basin of the early waters of the Yangtse-kiang —here represented by the Do Chhu. On May 21st, they passed over the Serkyem La, and so on the following day were able to reach Gye-gündo, a large straggling village dominated by a big and populous monastery. At Gye-gündo, Dutreuil de Rhins had calculated a rest of 15 days would be necessary in order to re-fit the caravan. To his dismay he found the denizens, lay and clerical, a turbulent and blackguard set inimicable to strangers with a passion for hurling huge stones at those whom they chose to suspect or dislike. An interview with the Chinese official or *t'ung-chou* did not lead the travellers to anticipate any sort of peaceful sojourn. Both bluster and suggestion of personal profit were resorted to in this interview. The Chinaman was not at all subdued by any menaces on the part of the Europeans. He suggestively recalled Mr. Rockhill's visit and the threats he had used towards the lamas and his having ignored the position of the Chinese official. Mr. Rockhill had, after all, been obliged to steal out of Gye-gündo under cover of the night.

A little judicious flattery on the part of the travellers and especially the promise to obtain their fresh

yaks and supplies through the Chinaman made more impression on the latter than the previous bombast and their threat "to pull the head lama's ears." A stay of 12 days was arranged, during which period the Chinese *t'ung-cheu* negotiated all their wants in the way of re-fitment successfully. They were informed, moreover, fully as to their future route. There were four tracks from Gye-gündo to Sining from which selection might be made: (1) By Dzun, the headquarters of one of the five divisions of the Tsaidam; (2) by a route passing between lakes Gyaring and Ngoring; (3) a way leading directly north to the east of these lakes; (4) a road *via* Achhung, the winter quarters of the Chief of the Golok bandits and which crosses the Yellow River three times. The third of these routes which was said also to be the shortest, was quickly determined on; and by this the distance between Gye-gündo and Sining would be about 770 kilometres or 480 miles—a formidable journey in any case.

It was on June 1st that the adventurous pair set out from Gye-gündo, unfortunately without a guide—"Dutreuil de Rhins ne s'en souciait guere," remarks Mons. Grenard, "mais cette fois il avait tort." He was indeed to pay for his imprudence; he was in truth preparing for his death. They managed well the first day's course; but on the following march the rain fell all day. They lost the proper road, several yak had to be left on the way, and poor heroic Dutreuil de Rhins felt symptoms of the return of his bronchial

troubles. After seven hours' wanderings they finally came to a place named by Mons. Grenard Thom (really Thom) Bumdo. After a tiresome parley with a surly individual at an apparently untenanted threshold, a little *bakshish* on being offered procured obsequious admission. The hosts were a man and his daughter who now manifested the utmost zeal to be of service; and the threatening weather caused the travellers to rest a couple of days in the hovel at Thom Bumdo. De Rhins at least rested, while his companion explored the neighbourhood.

Mons. Grenard found that Thom Bumdo was situated on the Deng Chhu, a small affluent of the large river close by, the Do Chhu. Visiting the villages around he saw something of the inhabitants whom he describes as "farouchement à l'ecart" or "savagely reserved," answering all questions grudgingly or evasively. Returning from his excursion to their shanty, on drawing near it there arose a sudden vague impression that somehow things would not turn out well. On the morrow, however, June 3rd, the weather gave the lie to forebodings; the sky cleared, and they thought to be able to start at noon. Preparing to be off at once, they found that two of their horses were missing. This made a delay which lasted till nightfall, and so too late to start that day. The horses being undiscoverable and evidently stolen, Dutreuil de Rhins made it public that he intended to impound two horses of the inhabitants and to go at daybreak. The next morning having secured their reprisal, they would

have departed. But an attack had been premeditated by the Tibetans ; for cries of vengeance soon filled the village and were re-echoed from the valley below. Men were seen running in various directions, and then a musket was fired. It was only day break ; but the gallant pair set forth, one with a rifle, the other with a revolver. The village stands on a height in the angle formed by the confluence of the Deng Chhu with the torrent they had descended on coming from Gye-gündo. The pathway after leaving the village passes on to the steep side of a mountain spur. The houses are like all in Tibet—with thick walls, narrow windows like loop-holes, and roofs with parapets. The pathway ran along the hill-side opposite these houses. Before they even got out on the path a fusilade commenced. Crossing the torrent on to the hill path, the firing continued, wounding several animals :

Nous commençâmes à tirer, mais avec ménagement, car nous n'avions en tout que 72 cartouches. Nous suivons alors la cote de la montagne sur la rive droite, précisément en face des maisons et à portée des fusils thibetains, sans pouvoir nous écarter à droite parce que la montagne est taillée à pic. Le passage était d'autant plus dangereux que l'étroitesse du chemin nous forçait d'aller à la file. Je pressai la marche de la caravane. Un moment encore et le mauvais pas serait franchi Soudain j'entendis des cris de détresse : je compris que Dutreuil de Rhins avait été blessé il tomba, défaillant dans mes bras. Je couchai l'intortuné sur une pièce de feutre, derrière un petit mur d'un pied de haut. J'envoyai Mohammad Iça auprès de l'agent chinois de Guiergoundo avec ordre de l'amener sur-le-champ, et je fis mettre en liberté les chevaux précédemment saisis, espérant que les Thibétains nous accorderaient au moins un moment de répit pour préparer une litière et emporter le blessé au plus vite. La vue de la

plaie ne me laissa point d'espoir : la balle avait pénétré profondément dans le bas-ventre, un peu au dessus de l'aîne gauche.

Grenard then sent the cook, who knew the Tibetan language, to parley with the enemy ; though he found Dutreuil de Rhins was getting into a delirious state. He vomited blood, and his head and hands grew cold as stone. A sort of litter being at length improvised, Grenard tried to arrange for a forward march. Thereupon the Tibetans renewed the attack and would not notice any appeal for a truce. Shots fell around and the animals one after the other rolled over. The Tibetans then with savage yells rushed upon the little group. Grenard endeavoured to reason with the barbarians, but they struck down the men of his party with the flat of their swords, crying *song, song*, "go, go !" He was now convinced that his last hour had come and he framed his mind to face death. Nevertheless he began to walk onwards, assuming as cool an aspect as he could muster. Musket balls flew at him, but were confusedly aimed, and he proceeded forward unmolested.

"As I passed on on foot I observed a rather large village above me hanging on the mountain-side and the inhabitants there cast down on me some enormous blocks of stone which failed, however, to touch me. Suddenly the trumpet of the monastery sounded, the fusilade ceased, my pursuers were stopped, and the children desisted from throwing stones with their slings. I had in fact reached the boundary of the Thom Bumdo district on the banks of the Do Tchou. Then

the efforts of my will, violently over-strained not to show any weakness in the eyes of the enemy, gave way for a moment. The murmur of the river which swept its waters onwards soft and deep seemed to call to me and to re-claim that life which remained true to me in spite of myself. What was left to do with this life ; had I not lost all that which I prized ? Was I not alone, stripped of every resource, surrounded by inexorable enemies, with nobody in whom to confide ? And if the hate of man spared me, had I not yet vast deserts to be traversed, where cold and hunger and wolves lay waiting for me ! ”

Nevertheless, the poor fellow's manliness soon re-asserted itself, and he did not take the cool plunge to which he seems for the instant to have been tempted. Presently, moreover, his recollection suggested a possible means of escape coupled with the chance of doing all that now could be done in behalf of his unlucky comrade. He remembered that not so far off there dwelt a man in the service of the Chinese Government whom he had met in his rambles a few days back and he perhaps might consent to assist him. He at once resolved to search out this official.

He travelled as rapidly as he could do, crossed in a skin-boat a wide river, and ultimately discovered his man and to him he related the woeful story. The Chinese official gave him a lodging in his abode which was located on the demesne of Labug Gompa. He then induced the head lama of Labug to despatch a message to his brother of Thom Bumdo begging him to

send thither Dutreuil de Rhins, living or dead, and to restore the baggage and the stolen animals. The answer was a stout refusal to give up anything as well as professed ignorance of the fate of Dutreuil de Rhins. Eventually, however, Mohammad Ica the cook turned up; and from him Grenard learnt that his poor and brave friend, having been found quite dead, had been forthwith cast into the Do Chhu, the river in which Grenard had for the moment been tempted to drown himself.

Here this sad tale must be wound up. Grenard prosecuted the lengthy journey that still remained all alone, reaching Sining July 15th, 1894, where by his recital he caused much commotion in the palace of the Chinese Amban or Resident there. Energetic measures for redress were taken by the latter, four of the ringleaders at Thom Bumdo being severely punished. Grenard acknowledges the real sympathy he received from the Chinese authorities and avers that they did all they could to make good that which was not irreparable.

THE SUCCESSORS OF PRZHEVALSKY.

After the premature demise of the great Russian explorer, the Government of the Tsar was too sagacious to suffer the enterprise to drop. The subordinates of Przhevalsky had made up their minds to continue the work, and Government was found only too willing to support them. MIKHAIL VASILOVICH PEVTSOV had been second in command under the dead general and

he now led the little band, choosing as his lieutenant a man who had already shewn the true exploring capabilities and spirit under Przhevalsky. This man was VSEVOLOD IVANOVICH ROBOROVSKY. The new work which Pevtsov now set about was indeed less showy than the former expeditions, but none the less important. It comprised the thorough examination of the topography, physiography, resources, and natural history of the country and mountains bounding the entire north of Tibet; together with which, excursions into North-West Tibet were to be included. It had to be remembered that if Russian influence were to be ever finally laid fast on Tibet, these frontages and their resources must first be brought intimately within knowledge. As to North-West Tibet, Przhevalsky had neglected this portion of the northern territory of that country; and, in the event of any future Russian military descent into Tibet (and may be even further south still), by the north-west would entrance naturally be made.

Starting in 1889, the Russian "Tibetan Expedition" (as it was officially named) first occupied itself with the southern regions of Kashgaria, including the mountainous region south of Khoten. Pevtsov, then, separating from Roborovsky, went further south exploring the sources of the River Karakhash, the Karakorums, and finally the routes over the so-called Kuen Lün range into North-West Tibet. In 1890 he penetrated into this Tibetan region, mapping the belt of country along the southern base of the western Kuen Lün and

entering North-West Tibet as far as the Mangtsa Tsho. He had associated with him as geologist Professor Bogdanovich, who also made independent excursions around. All this part, that is, the approaches into Tibet from Kashgar, was thus brought well—and, in certain portions minutely within Russian cognisance.

In the meantime, Captain Roborovsky took a small detachment for geographical researches east of the operations of Pevtsov himself. With this detachment went PETER KOZMICH KOZLOV as lieutenant. They first explored from Nia (south of Khoten) along the north-east road direct to Cherchen, ransacked the sources of the Cherchen River in the Takuz-dawán mountains as far as the vicinity of Kazuk-kakti. Next, they followed the Sarik-tuza River to its junction with the Keria ; and thence, passing over that portion of the Kuen Lün known as the Uzu Tag, they reached the plateau of North-West Tibet. A third excursion started from Mandalik and passed eastward along the ridges of the Akka Tag which bounds Tibetan territory. They returned west along the base of the Akka Tag on the Tibetan side *viâ* the “lake that never freezes” and the “Kremlin Peak.” Other trips and explorations took Roborovsky to Lob Nor from Mandalik ; while Kozlov examined the Kon-chhe River and a large lake, Bagrash Kul.

In 1893-94 Roborovsky and Kozlov formed an exploring squadron with Cossack escort independently of Pevtsov. The party avoided the north-west frontages of Tibet and went to the north-east entirely.

They devoted themselves to the examination of the various ranges of the Nan Shan ; exploring the desert of Saithang and the numerous lakes and sandy raches north of Tsaidam and north-west of Kōkō Nor. Sachu, Suchu, Lyang-chou-fu, and other towns in the Nan Shan curtilage, were all visited. In 1896 full reports of all these tours were officially issued by the Russian Government, accompanied by maps and appendices of altitudes and barometrical readings.

To another Russian, however, a private explorer, is due a more scientific and exhaustive investigation of the Nan Shan ; its valleys, lakes, and mountain ranges. We refer to the work of VLADIMIR APHANASIEVICH OBROOCHEV, in the years 1892-96. He has explored and mapped all the Nan Shan ranges, including those abutting on the Kōkō Nor ; also the eastern branches of these mountains in Kansu, the Tsing-shiling, Amye Surgu, etc., etc. Mons. Obroochev's work is set forth at large in the Proceedings of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society and in separate monographs ; but, being in the Russian language, remains unexamined by most geographical writers.

ATTEMPT OF MR. AND MRS. LITTLEDALE TO REACH LHASA.

To European observers of English manners and customs, imbued only with Continental notions of the connubial relationship, it must appear indeed a fantastic thing to behold husband and wife engaging

together and on equal terms in schemes of adventurous exploration. Nevertheless, when an Englishman finds himself linked to a kindred spirit, it does not seem to him strange that the sharer of his home life should prove competent to accompany him in enterprises abroad also. Taking the sphere alone of travel in unknown regions of the world, the history of British adventure can shew several pairs of the kind who rank as enthusiastic explorers of the highest type. We might single out from the number of these a few such as Sir Richard and Lady Burton, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent, and Mr. and Mrs. St. George Littledale, where the wife has been entitled equally with the husband to the fame which is won by an arduous journey in barbarous lands. Amongst Russians, however, we may note one such pair of travellers, Mr. and Mrs. Potanin. Of these remarkable yoke-fellows in adventure perhaps the most ubiquitous and most successful have been Mr. and Mrs. Littledale. This pair of travellers seem to have exhausted all the possibilities of modern exploration, at least with regard to Asia. They have penetrated together the remotest recesses of that Continent, and in two or three instances have been the first Europeans to enter some unexplored tract, being successful when others have failed.

It is our duty now to relate the particulars of the journey of Mr. and Mrs. Littledale into the very heart of Tibet. This lady and gentlemen had already coasted the entire northern frontier of the country in their

expedition amid deserts and mountains from Lob Nor to Kōkō Nor. The route which they took on that occasion was a new one, never before and never since traversed by any European. They had now determined to enter Tibet itself, and by hook or by crook make a gallant rush to reach the capital. As we shall see, they all but realised the project which they set themselves. This Englishman and his wife (with their nephew) at least succeeded in getting nearer to Lhása than had any white traveller since the days of Huc and Gabet.

Leaving England on November 10th, 1894, and taking with them a nephew Mr. W. A. L. Fletcher, an Oxford oarsman and 6 feet 3 inches in his stockings, they travelled *viâ* Tiflis, Bokhara and Samarkand, then across the Thian Shan until, on January 5th, 1895, Kashgar was reached. To attain Kashgar has been regarded as somewhat of a feat by other European travellers; but the Littledales think that a trifle. Their real journey was not considered to have yet begun. Next they steered for Yarkand and Khoten. At Khoten they commenced buying animals and stores for their Tibetan trip. As they bought upwards of 100 ponies, mules and asses, it was necessary to have plenty of money; and happily Mr. Littledale appears to have unlimited means at command for the purposes of his expeditions.

A rough piece of 430 miles followed from Khoten to Cherchen through the deserts of South East Turkistan and along the beds of the half-choked half-

burrowing rivers which fringe the southern line of the Takla Makan, the Soudan of those regions. Cherchen, which lies in lat. $38^{\circ} 10' 30''$ N., long. $85^{\circ} 40'$ E., was reached March 9th, 1895. It is a forsaken sand-washed island of the desert amid flats and ridges, inhabited by a miserable people who have amassed a few green fields by dint of incessant irrigation. It is, however, a trading centre at certain seasons as well as a Chinese penal settlement; and thus the travellers were enabled to make their final purchases and final engagement of guides and servants in the place. Two great ranges of mountains, the Chaman Tag and the Akka Tag, besides minor scarps lay yet between them and the sterile wildernesses of Northern Tibet, to gain which they would have to march a winding route to the south-east of 200 miles at least; nevertheless, Cherchen was the last pretence of civilisation to be met with for many a hundred mile southwards. Their route towards the south lay further to the west than Carey's and was an ordinary though unmapped one. Accordingly, at Cherchen, the caravan was finally formed and mustered. It comprised some 250 animals, half of which were to return as soon as the Akka Tag should be crossed. 25,000 lbs. of Indian corn had to be carried to feed these beasts of burden, besides 6 months' provisions for the travellers themselves.

Starting April 12th, the line taken traversed a rough and barren country, beset with mighty cascades of stones, rocky passes, ice and snow; with most bitter

weather to boot. Mrs. Littledale appears to have faced these terrific obstacles as resolutely as the hardiest. On May 15th they made the last Pass over the Akka Tag, saw Kōkōshili range away to the east, and gazed down on the actual plains, or rather the stony shallow shelving valleys, of Tibet. From thence their course was shaped S. S.-E. through regions of incredible aridity. It kept parallel to Mons. Bonvalot's route but 60 miles to the west of it. They travelled quickly, to keep pace if possible with the news of their advance which was sure to be conveyed forward at great speed to Lhása. After considerable hardships and the loss of 70 or 80 of the drove of 120 beasts of burden they had taken beyond Akka Tag, they positively reached the north shore of Tengri Nor without any molestation. Skirting the western border of the great lake, the party gained the comparatively fertile valleys at the southernmost point of those waters; thus attaining a position more to the south and much nearer to Lhása than Mons. Bonvalot or any other European explorers had previously reached. Here bands of men from Lhása opposed further progress to the capital with great show of hostility. Mr. Littledale, however, observes that the opposition was not such as to have intimidated him from advancing; and there can be little doubt that determination to proceed would have overcome the hostile demonstration. Unfortunately, Mrs. Littledale, who had been some time ailing, fell seriously ill, provisions were short, and their reception in the capital was uncertain.

Accordingly, eventually, Messrs. Littledale and Fletcher, after a march or two further in the desired direction, decided to give way so far as an advance to Lhása was concerned and to travel rapidly due west towards Ladak. The Tibetans had been urgent that the party should return by the way they had come; but the travellers stood firm and the concession was made. The route west to Leh was one of nearly 700 miles and through a region never previously traversed by Europeans since the days of Fathers Desideri and Grueber. They even saw Rudok. Thus Mr. Littledale by his adventure not only achieved a point only 70 miles from Lhása, but also succeeded in mapping a belt of important and diversified country along the unknown tracts extending from Tengri Nor to Ladak. This latter achievement was, geographically, the more desirable than the other.

MESSRS. WELLBY AND MALCOLM'S JOURNEY.

In 1896, during leave, two British officers, Captain M. S. Wellby and Lieutenant N. Malcolm, projected an extensive journey in Northern Tibet, with of course the possible objective of Lhása. Keeping their intentions absolutely secret, they started ostensibly on a sporting expedition to the Changchenmo Valley on the Ladak border. Making for the Lanak Pass, by which Captain Bower had entered the country, the travellers found themselves on the forbidden ground early in June 1896. They bore to Mangtsa Tsho; and thence they were careful to proceed continuously east

wherever possible and when not going eastwards always chose a northern in preference to a southern direction. Self-chosen the route had to be, as the guides had forsaken the travellers the night previous to their crossing the Lanak Pass. They journeyed at first for a long period through a sterile grassless country—the western portion of the Chang-thang, finding many salt-lakes but very little fresh water. The extremes of great heat by day and severe frost by night were experienced in June and July, the difference between mid-day and the night temperature being often 70° and once 91°. On August 2nd, all the drivers and load-carriers (*khurpa*) suddenly deserted; and by the 10th of August all beasts of burden except three mules had died. Until the middle of August Capt. Wellby and Mr. Malcolm had no difficulty in finding a satisfactory way onwards; they then at length were at fault and wandered. However, in September they came upon a merchant with a large caravan proceeding eastwards and were allowed to keep in company with this party. During this and the greater part of their journey the travellers kept between the 36th and 37th parallels of latitude. The route, accordingly, nearly bisected the broadest and longest of the unknown areas of Tibet. About September 20th when on the south-west confines of Tsaidam, they parted from the Tibetan merchant, whence they crossed the Shuga Gol and, surmounting the Pass known as Namoran Kütül, they presently sighted Kōkō Nor. On October 15th the town of Tarkar was reached where the

way-worn adventurers were hospitably entertained by the missionaries Mr. and Mrs. Rijnhart. The former accompanied them to Sining-fu and Lanchau-fu, whence they took boat down the Hoang Ho as far as to Pao-theo. Disembarking at the latter place on November 13th, they travelled by road to Peking, arriving there on December 1st, only 5 months since they had quitted British territory on the western frontier of Tibet. This exploit, however, bears rank as a valuable exploration, the approximate courses of two lengthy ranges of mountains south of the Akka Tag being among the more important features added to our maps.

In 1898, Mr. Rijnhart, a Dutch missionary who had been in residence some $3\frac{1}{2}$ years at Tankar, a Chinese town situated 45 miles to the east of Kōkō Nor, set out for Lhása taking with him his wife and a young child. Knowing the N. E. dialect of Tibetan thoroughly and forming so obscure and poor-looking a party, there seemed every chance of success. Travelling by Barong Tsaidam and over the Amye Machhen range, they journeyed for two months to the S. W. At length when the banks of the Dza Chhu or Upper Mekhong were reached, at a point about 220 miles E.-N.-E. of Lhása and 60 miles N.-W. of Chhamdo, the poor folk were reduced to extremities through lack of food and loss of bearings. Seeing an encampment on the other side of the river, Mr. Rijnhart left his wife in order to make inquiries there. He never returned

to her, and was evidently murdered by the nomads. Mrs. Rijnhart, after indescribable hardships and the death of her child, succeeded in reaching Ta-tsien-lu, the frontier town of Szechuen, accomplishing a journey of 350 miles all alone. She is an American and a lady-doctor. Her full narrative has been brought out in America under the title *With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple*.

Major Deasy of the British Army, together with Mr. Arnold Pike, accomplished in 1899 an extensive exploration in Turkestan, Khoten, and N.-W. Tibet. They visited all the lakes first indicated by Captain Bower as lying north of the central chain of salt-lakes in West Tibet, making a much more accurate survey of their shape and position than this latter gentleman had time for, besides discovering several other lakes hitherto unknown. They also explored the western valleys of the Kuen Lün mountains and the sources of the Keria river.

CAPTAIN KOZLOV'S EXPEDITION.

One of the most promising yet not the most fruitful of explorations of Tibet in recent years is that made by the Russian officer P. K. Kozlov, carried out between August 1899 and October 1900. This traveller, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Kaznakov, had the advantages unattainable by British officers of having his expenses paid by his Government and of being granted a body-guard of 16 soldiers, six of whom were

Mongol-Buriats in the Russian service. The party journeyed through the Gobi desert from Kobdo and did not reach the Nan Shan ranges of Kansu until the new year. Travelling *vid* Sining to Barong Tsaidam, there they wintered, remaining 3 months at the Tibetan monastery in that place. Starting May 17th, 1900, they crossed the Burhan Bota range and kept at first as they proceeded south in the track already fully explored by A. K. and by Mr. Rockhill. Having visited the sources of the Hoang-ho, the route taken diverged and lay apart from former tracks, passing S. W. over the eastern continuation of the Dang-la range. Next they crossed the chief feeder of the Yang-tse-kiang, to which Kozlov assigns the impossible appellation of "Ndu Chu." This is really the Di Chhu; and his conclusions concerning this and the other important rivers seem to have been based on such insufficient data and to have been so recklessly formed that they cannot be deemed of any but subsidiary value. After continuing south over intervening ranges, he reached the neighbourhood of Chhamdo, whence, notwithstanding his military escort, he was obliged to start on the return journey to Tsaidam. Regarding all controversial conclusions, we fear it must be said that great reliance is not to be placed upon the precision of the author's observations. His map (as it appears in the *Geographical Journal* of May 1902) is projected on the Greenwich meridian scale, but not merely the longitudes but even the latitudes seem to be fundamentally out of gear. He has, for example, assigned

to a leading point such as the town of Chhamdo (a place the position of which is approximately well ascertained) a situation in latitude $29^{\circ} 18' N.$, long. $96^{\circ} 55' E.$ (or thereabout), whereas the actual position is lat. $31^{\circ} 11' N.$, long. $97^{\circ} 25' E.$ —a most serious difference. Again, Derge Gonchen, the capital of an important district, is placed in lat. $30^{\circ} 22' N.$, long. $99^{\circ} E.$ (*circa*); whereas the true approximate situation is lat. $32^{\circ} 19' N.$, long. $98^{\circ} 15' E.$ Judging Captain Kozlov's powers of accuracy solely by this his map, one would be disinclined to accept his statements concerning the watersheds and courses of the great rivers in these regions without confirmation. One or two other criticisms must be added in the interests of exactitude. South of Chhamdo the combined Ngom Chhu and Dza Chhu would be styled Dza Chhu not *Da Chhu*, though the commoner name is Ngom Chhu. Moreover, there is no such range as the Burhan *Bud-dha*; and the province of Kham is never written or spoken of as *Kam*.

SVEN HEDIN'S LATEST JOURNEY.

The mere nibbling incursions along the northern fringe of Tibetan territory at length apparently ceased to interest the indomitable Swedish traveller, and early in 1901 news was received by his friends at home of an exciting nature. Sven Hedin had planned, he wrote, to hazard a plunge right across the country making from the Lob Nor region direct to the S.-W. in order to visit the sources of the Indus north-east

of the Kailas mountains in S.-W. Tibet. However in the event he decided on a more desperate venture ; even to visit Lhása itself, and to attempt this in the guise of a Buriat pilgrim from Siberia. Accordingly June 1st, 1901, he set forth from Tsaklik (Chakhlik) with at first a large party of 35 persons, which included an escort of four Russian Cossacks.

Dr. Sven Hedin crossed the Akka Tag, as other explorers had done before him ; and, proceeding by a route to the west of that followed by the Littledales, the whole party arrived before the 5th of August at a point 200 miles N.-W. of Tengri Nor. Here he left the others encamped, while he, clad in Buriat costume, with two Mongols—one of whom was a lama—pushed on by rapid stages S.-E. towards the capital. On the 8th day of their march and when some 150 miles N.-N.-W. of Lhása, they found that their ruse was known to the Lhása authorities. They were stopped by a body of escorted officials from the capital. The Tibetans numbered 67 in all, many of them armed ; so that the trio were ultimately forced to return on their tracks to the camp where the bulk of their party had been left. Nevertheless, from this point the whole band were permitted to proceed W.-S.-W., *via* Lakes Gya-ring and Ngombo towards Ladak. On the way it was often evident that a body of Tibetans was continually dogging their steps with a view to resist any renewal of the attempt to reach Lhása. Dr. Hedin cannot be said to have succeeded in his plan of visiting the sources of the Indus and Rudok ; and

he did not get quite so near to Lhása as did the Little-
dales and Mr. Fletcher. However, it was a fine trip.
He arrived at Leh, with large collections, on the 19th
December 1901 ; and, on January 10th, 1902, had reach-
ed Calcutta, where he was the guest of the Viceroy
Lord Curzon, himself an Asiatic explorer.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GREAT RIVER OF TIBET; THE DIHANG AND IRAWADI CONTROVERSY—MR. NEED- HAM'S ADVENTURES.

WE must not forget to allude to the special exploration of the south-easternmost boundaries of Tibet, which matter has been always a department of investigation separate from the general exploration of the country. It has been mainly confined to determining whether the great river of Tibet, the Yeru Tsangpo, was the Dihang which issues from the Himalayas in Eastern Assam, just north of Sadiya, or whether it re-appeared as the Irawadi still further east. In 1736 D'Anville in his map of this part had made the Tibetan river run far to the east of its actual course and eventually flow into the Irawadi.

Major James Rennell, who about the year 1772 was Surveyor-General of Bengal, seems to have been the first European interested in the question. This remarkable man, who had a real instinct for correct geographical inference, from the first solved the problem exactly as modern investigation has proved the actual fact is. He published his *Bengal Atlas* in which he laid down what he styles "the Sampoo" of Tibet as being the main feeder of the Brahmaputra; and,

although in his time there had been no examination of, or even visits to, the Sadiya district of Assam, he fixed by conjecture the line of passage of the Tibetan river through the Himalayas precisely where it actually lies. When in 1769 Rennell had been engaged in surveying the lower course of the Brahmaputra in Bengal, he had been struck by its magnitude, and he collected some information respecting its upper course which led him to conjecture that the Sampoo of Tibet discharged its waters by a channel which he inserted where at present the Dihang is found to break through the Himalaya mountains. This representation of the union of the "Sampoo" and Brahmaputra was not questioned till 1824, when the British troops entered Assam, and it was discovered that the sources of an eastern branch of the Brahmaputra were situated much farther E. than the place where in Rennell's map the "Sampoo" entered the vale of Assam. Lachlan and Julius Klaproth accordingly conjectured that the "Sampoo" ran much farther to the east, and, encircling the mountains to the north of the sources of the Brahmaputra, joined the Irawadi. Klaproth, who had carefully examined the Chinese geographers, collected some passages which he thought sufficient to support his opinion.

The first actual investigation of the question on the spot was attempted by Lieutenant Wilcox and Captain Bedford, two British officers who had been left in Assam after the expedition. In 1826, these two ascertained the extraordinary output of water from the Dihang

where it joins the river flowing west from the Brahmakund pools. Accordingly they set about ascending the Dihang and succeeded in entering the defiles of the Himalayas where it comes down. Their attempt by boat was there, however, frustrated by the awful rapids and cataracts which in wondrous series interrupt the descending river.

Lieutenant Wilcox next endeavoured to proceed north by the precarious paths along the sides of the Dihang, but the hostility more apparent than real of the Abors, the tribe inhabiting the various mountain villages in isolated citadels, as well as the tales told by his Assamese servants of the deadly poison with which their arrows were barbed, at length induced him to desist. The northernmost point on the banks of the Dihang to which he ascended he gives as lat. $28^{\circ} 6' N$. However, he and Lieutenant Burlton, presently succeeded in penetrating the Mishmi country, east of this river and the Dihang and in passing the mountain range between the upper branches of the Lohit or Brahmakund feeder of the Indian Brahmaputra and those of the Irawadi, and they found that in the country of the Bor Khamtis the west branch of the Irawadi is an inconsiderable river only 80 yards wide, and the natives were not acquainted with any large river in the neighbourhood. This rendered it all but certain that the "Sampoo" of Tibet did not join the Irawadi, or any other river in the adjacent countries. The point reached by Wilcox was Manchi on the Mali-kha.

On the other hand, as far as the course of the "Sampoo" as well as that of the Dihang had been fixed by astronomical observations, it was thought by no means improbable that both were the same river. The only point which in those early days had been determined on the banks of the Sampoo, by actual observation was "Teshoo Loomboo," which Turner found at $89^{\circ} 7'$ E. long. Farther down, the position of Lhása which lies at no great distance from the northern bank had been calculated by Gaubil to be $88^{\circ} 4'$ E. long. of Paris, or $90^{\circ} 24'$ of Greenwich. Below here the Sampoo was known to continue its course for a considerable distance to the E. until all information of its further course was lost. The Dihang issued from the mountains according to the survey, at about $95^{\circ} 30'$ E. long. Between Lhása and this point there were therefore still five degrees and six minutes for the known and unknown portions of the course of the river.

It was impossible to draw any conclusion from the difference of lat., because the Chinese place Tibet much too far south. In D'Anville's map to Du Halde's description of China the known course of the "Sampoo" terminated at $26^{\circ} 40'$ N. lat., and on the Chinese map of Kienlung in $27^{\circ} 30'$, and consequently to the south of the valley of the Brahmaputra: Klaproth accordingly, to support his opinion, had been obliged to place it at $28^{\circ} 30'$, and Berghaus even at $29^{\circ} 15'$ N. lat. But even admitting the lat. of Klaproth, the distance of the termination of the known portion of the Sampoo would only differ 24 minutes of lat. from

the most northern point on the banks of the Dihang, to which Wilcox ascended this river ($28^{\circ} 6' \text{ N. lat.}$).

Klaproth supported his opinion of the identity of the "Sampoo" and "Irawaddy" by a few passages from Chinese geographers; but all the countries between the termination of the known course of the Sampoo and China Proper were and still are as little known to them as they were to us; and as they had no knowledge at all of the Lohit or Bengal portion of the Brahmaputra, they thought it necessary to unite the Sampoo with the most considerable river of the Peninsula other than the Ganges, *i.e.*, the Irawaddy. To the passages of the Chinese geographer were also opposed the decided opinion of the lamas of Tibet, who told Turner that the "Sampoo" running to the south united its waters with the river flowing down from the Brahmakund.

In this disputed condition our knowledge of the southern outfall of the Tibetan waterway remained for many years. Assam and portions of the north bounding ranges were fully surveyed, but little or no attempt was made to ascend the mountain-locked course of the Dihang, the chief deterrent being the barbarous Miri and Abor tribes, whose use of poisoned arrows was well confirmed. However, when Capt. Montgomerie set his band of semi-Tibetan trained explorers in action, when the earlier expeditions had succeeded beyond expectation, it was believed that much could be done towards solving the Brahmaputra-Irawadi question by tracing the Tibetan course of the

Tsang-po east of long. 93° E. and so down its southern line towards the Himalayas.

An ingenious amplification of this project was devised by the late Captain Harman of the Indian Survey. His plan was to instruct the explorers to follow the course of the Tsang-po as far E. and S. as possible, and there to cast into the river peculiarly-cut logs of light wood. Moreover, watchers were to be placed on the Dihang in Assam to be ever on the look-out to see if any of the logs came down by that stream. Two survey agents were especially successful in following the S.-E. course of the Tsang-po. G. M. N. traced the river east from Shigatse as far as Gyala Seng-dong (lat. $29^{\circ} 41'$ N., long. $94^{\circ} 12'$ E.) in 1878. Here logs were cast in, but without any result. The other man K. P. in 1886-87, descended the river to a point nearly 100 miles lower than G. M. N. had gone, namely, to Onlet, which is one day's march from the village of Miri Padam, a place said to be only 35 miles from the Assam border. At Bepung he threw 500 of the logs in ten days into the current of the Tsang-po. Bepung is situated at a point about 115 miles as the river flows from the defiles where the Dihang debouches from the outer Himalayas. None of these logs appeared, or at any rate were picked up, for several years. Each log was a foot in length and easily recognisable. However, in the course of the year 1891 (we believe), it was ascertained that two of these logs were found cast ashore, in the Brahmaputra-Lohit river. If that were so, the fact that the Tsang-po

really flowed down into Assam was practically settled. We have not heard the exact circumstances.

It remained, nevertheless, to follow the Dihang backwards through the mountains into Tibet and to explore the adjoining fastnesses where dwell the Miris on the western bank, the Abors on the western and eastern. This work Mr. J. F. Needham, then assistant political officer at Sadiya, set himself and entered upon it in great earnest. After one or two abortive attempts he succeeded in cultivating friendly personal relations with the Abors, and in 1884 actually penetrated so far up the Dihang as to reach the Abor capital, the stronghold of Membu or Mimbo. Colonel Dalton had been as far as this town so long ago as 1845; and in 1859 native troops from Assam had been led up to storm the place and punish the Abors for murder and plunder. But Mr. Needham cultivated friendly relations with them and spent several days visiting the fortified villages such as Membu and Romkang and listening to the grievances of the inhabitants. His fearless yet conciliatory bearing coupled with his knowledge of the Abor tongue disarmed hostility; yet for the present he did not venture higher up the banks of the Dihang.

From time to time during the seventies and eighties the old question of the outflow of the Tibetan Tsangpo was revived; and the French geographers made it a point of honour to contend still that the river passing eastwards, north of the sources of the Lohit or eastern branch of the Assam Brahmaputra, eventually rounded

south through the northern barriers of Burma to form the Irawadi. During the eighties they were joined by a Scotchman, a Mr. Robert Gordon, who had a considerable personal knowledge of the regions under dispute.

Mr. Gordon, however, had a new theory of the conjuncture of a plausible nature. He admitted that Lieutenant Wilcox, who had seen the higher course of the Mali Kha, the west branch of the Irawadi at Manchi, and found it there an insignificant stream, was right in supposing its sources to be in a range only some 40 miles further north. But was there not an eastern branch of the Irawadi, the 'Nmai Kha, reported on all hands to be a large river? This, he contended, was the true continuation of the Tsang-po. Moreover, taking advantage of the recent discovery by A. K. of a large river in the Tibetan valley of Zayul at the back of the mountains (*i.e.*, the Kha Karpo) from which the western Irawadi sprang, he made the connection thus. The Yeru Tsang-po made its way east by a course lying as far north as lat. $29^{\circ} 40' N.$, whence turning sharply S. E. it entered the N.-W. corner of the triangular valley of Zayul, which it traversed from this entrance with an E.-N.-E. course. Next, turning due south, these waters made their way in long. 98° through deep mountain gorges and appeared lower down as the great eastern branch of the Irawadi. Mr. Gordon glibly vanquished the weakest point in his scheme, namely, that concerning the eastern flow of the Zayul Chhu (which river A. K. had plainly stated

ran *from* the E. to the S.-W.) by roundly asserting that the pandit explorer had not sufficiently examined, and in all probability had mistaken, its particular course.

This theory, nevertheless, was destined to be very quickly demolished. In December 1885, Mr. Needham and a small party made an excursion up the Lohit branch of the Brahmaputra north of the Brahmakund pools and followed it into the Zayul Valley almost to Rima (near which place the French missionaries Krick and Boury had been murdered in 1854). There by actual inspection, as well as by inquiries, they proved that the Zayul Chhu ran as stated by A. K. and not as suggested by Mr. Gordon; and that it was, moreover, the chief feeder of the Lohit or eastern Brahmaputra. This last point was quite a new discovery. Thus was the Indian Brahmaputra shewn to be even doubly Tibetan in origin, both its easternmost and its Dihang branches rising in Tibet.

Mr. J. F. Needham's letter descriptive of this trip communicated by General J. T. Walker to the Royal Geog. Society is so interesting as to be worth re-printing *in extenso*, which we proceed to do notwithstanding its length:--

Having read A. K.'s journal and subsequently an article in the *Pioneer* of the 16th May 1885, headed "The Rival Rivers," where mention is made of a paper by Mr. R. Gordon in which, after discrediting A. K.'s theory that the Sanpo breaks away south at Gyala Sindong and eventually falls into the Brahmaputra under the name of the Dihang, he substitutes one of his own, *vis.*, that instead of its turning south where A. K. alleges it does, it runs for many miles

further to the eastward and then breaking away south (somewhere west of Rima) joins the Irawadi, I solicited permission to endeavour to reach Rima. This having been given, I left Sadiya on the 12th December, 1885, in company with an influential Khampti chief who speaks Digaru fluently, and who, some ten years ago, endeavoured to make the trip, but was compelled to return when within a few miles of Rima. I took no escort, but ten Frontier Police (unarmed) were allowed to accompany me as orderlies, and Captain Molesworth (the Frontier Police Commandant) joined as my guest. I got safely through the Digaru and Miju Mishmi countries, and on the 4th January was in sight of Rima, when the Governor ordered me to be stopped, and as I was refused supplies and was otherwise treated uncivilly, I was compelled to retrace my steps. It was a grievous disappointment to me to be refused admittance to Rima, but having succeeded in getting in sight of it, the disappointment was not so keen as it might have been, for I was in the proud position of being able to refute Mr. Gordon's theory (which I had all along considered to be erroneous), as also to very materially corroborate A. K.'s. I marched up alongside of the Brahmaputra the whole way from Sadiya to within sight of Rima, and I can consequently positively assert that no river as large or anything like as large as the Sanpo flows to the southward anywhere on this side of that place. When in sight of Rima I saw a river coming down from the north-east and flowing into the Brahmaputra below Rima, which I have no doubt whatever is the Zayul Chu and that it is correctly shown in A. K.'s map, and I was informed by trustworthy Miju chiefs (who visit Rima constantly) that the Brahmaputra (known to them as the Lôpani) flows down from some mountains fifteen days or so distant from Rima, and I saw it flowing from the north-west just below Rima, exactly as marked in A. K.'s map. From the evidence I got on the spot, I have no doubt whatever that the Brahmaputra takes its rise in the mountains to the south of the Nagong Chu river (*vide* A. K.'s map), and that it is known to the Tibetans under the name of the Rongthod Chu, as marked in the same map. I was twenty-four days reaching the spot near Rima, but did the return journey in sixteen days. On my way there I was delayed somewhat in interviewing the several chiefs through

whose country I had to pass. I took no observations, but carefully noted the bearings of the road or path daily, and made as careful a calculation of the distance as was possible. I made the distance to Rima to be 184 miles. The Tibetan village of Samê is on the right bank of the Brahmaputra, about three miles or so west of Rima. Prun (which is the name of a Miju clan), the furthest point reached by Mr. T. T. Cooper, is about 55 miles west of Rima.

The course of the Irawadi-Dihang controversy need not be followed further in much detail. It was now approaching settlement.

General Walker, a late Surveyor-General of India, however, troubled the waters a little, just after the Gordon theory, with a new proposal altogether. The Gyáma-ngul Chhu, a great Tibetan east-flowing river, known on the borders of China as *Lu Kiang*, had long been accepted as the upper waters of the Salwin river of Burma. General Walker's new idea (founded on suggestions of an Austrian geologist, Herr Loczy) was that the Salwin did not rise, after all, in Tibet but probably in Yunnan; whilst the Gyáma-ngul Chhu (then known in England by the name: *Giama Nu Chhu*) was the true source of the eastern branch of the Irawadi, which was thus Tibetan in origin in this way. As the very name of this eastern upper branch signifies "little river" in the topography of the three different peoples who knew its course (viz., 'Nmai Kha of the Mishmis, *Myit Kle* of the Burmese, and *Phung-mai* of the Shans), there was something substantial *ab initio* against the idea.

Finally, this and other theories were permanently disposed of by the surveys and expeditions of Colonel Woodthorpe and Major Hobday (together with Mr. Ogle and Dr. St. John Grant) in 1891-93. They traced both branches of the Upper Irawadi, each with a series of mountain feeders, to their very sources; and the 'Nmai Kha, like the Mali Kha, was proved to have its origin in the Kha Karpoo range separating northernmost Burma from the Zayul Valley of Tibet.

Thus, by a process of exhaustion, though not by actual traverse or inspection, was the Dihang left to be deemed the only possible outlet of the Tibetan Yeru Tsangpo.

It has remained for Mr. Needham to be the man—as in all conscience he fully deserves to be—to develop the moral certainty on which the decision rested into almost ocular demonstration. This fearless explorer had become so familiar with the Dihang tribes by his former excursions that he was confident of being able to press his way along the banks of that river right up, north-west, into Tibet so as, probably, to reach Gyala Sengdong on the Tibetan Brahmaputra or Tsangpo. His zest for this adventure had been long curbed (so the rumour goes) by the caution of Sir H. Cotton, then Chief Commissioner of Assam, who had persistently refused to sanction Mr. Needham starting on any such escapade. At length, however, in 1900 permission was obtained, not for Mr. Needham to go on an expedition himself, but

to have at his disposal two Gurkha soldiers specially trained by the Survey of India. These men have lately been despatched by Mr. Needham several journeys up the Dihang and, but for the hostility of the Passi-Minyong tribe, they would easily have succeeded in reaching Gyala Sengdong. In April 1901 the pair got just beyond the bounding Himalayan range. They saw some 50 miles of the river within and on the northern side of the mountains. Their report causes us to alter our preconceived notion that the Tsangpo flowed due south-east before reaching the Himalayan gorges; it really runs for 20 miles due east parallel with the range in the final part of its course on the Tibetan side. Above this 20 miles, the course for at least 40 miles is south-south-east. Gyala Sengdong is reported as being much nearer to Assam than was first believed; and as being very accessible from Sadiya.

CHAPTER XII.

ESCORTED BRITISH MISSIONS IN TIBET,

1903—1904.

THE long-continued neglect by the Tibetans to observe the provisions of the Treaty of 1890, as extended by the appendant regulations signed at Darjeeling in December 1893, together with their infringement of the border-line adjusted between Tibet and North Sikkim which runs along the watershed athwart the Kongra-lamo Pass, were not in themselves matters of vital consequence. Attempts had been made from time to time to bring these laxities into order. But it is not probable that any definite steps to enforce compliance would have been undertaken, had not other circumstances arisen which suggested the advisability of convincing the Tibetans that the British Government was not the one outside Power which might be played with and defied. The detection on more than one occasion, during the years 1900 and 1901, of secret communications passing between Russia and certain persons of position at Lhása by way of Darjeeling convinced the Indian Government that the time for asserting ourselves had arrived. Moreover, the publicity afterwards flauntingly given by the Russian newspapers to these so-called "Missions" from the

Dalai Lama (in singular contrast to the privacy of their passage over the Indian frontier) indicated a *ballon d'essai* possibly precedent to a Russian consulate at Lhása. Determined action had, therefore, to be taken with the view to convince Tibet, rather than Russia, that, if any outside Power was to have influence in Tibet, it must be England and not Russia. With such important issues at stake, when dealing with so barbarous and childish a Government as the Tibetan (which evades the larger issues), all small rights of ours which had been openly infringed had necessarily to be seized upon and made much of, even if it were only to give an excuse to effect the larger settlement.

This necessity seemed emphasized by the contempt with which the Tibetan authorities had treated certain letters addressed by the Viceroy personally to the Dalai Lama himself. One of these letters had been despatched in August, 1900, from the Ladak side of Tibet. Captain Kennion, political officer at Leh, had gone as far as Gartok to deliver the letter to the Urkhu or Garpon there for transmission to Lhása. Six months later this official returned it to Leh with the statement that he dared not forward it as promised. In June, 1901, a second letter was prepared and sent from Darjeeling, with the first letter. Both of these, enclosed in a silken cover, were entrusted to one Urgyen Kazi, a Bhutānese, who was about to go on a complimentary mission from the Dharma Raja of Bhutan conveying presents of two

elephants and a leopard to the Dalai Lama. The envoy reached Lhása in August, one of the elephants having died on the way. His account of his endeavours to present the letter is worth quoting :—

I told the Chikyab Kempo that I brought a letter from His Excellency the Viceroy. He reported this to the Dalai Lama. On the fifth day after my arrival, I gave His Excellency's letter to the Dalai Lama. The Chikyab Kempo went with me, but left the room and there was only a servant present who was serving tea. On this servant leaving the room, the Dalai Lama commenced to talk, at first, about things concerning Bhutan, and then about the Government. Regarding the letter, the Dalai Lama said he could not take it without consulting the Council and the Amban, and, as he knew they would not agree, he did not wish to call them, as he said he was afraid the Chinese Amban would make a fuss and probably create a disturbance, in which case he could not be responsible for my life. He went on to say that he was precluded from writing any letter to any Foreign Government, as during the time of Tangyailing Demo Rimpoche an agreement was entered into by the Lamas, Schaffis and Ambans that no letters should be written without first consulting the Ambans. I then pointed out that the letter was written by the greatest official under the King. To this the Dalai Lama answered that this agreement was not made by him but by his predecessor, and that he was sorry, but he could not receive a letter or send an answer. This he repeated on two subsequent occasions when I went to visit him, and that he could not, by himself, break that agreement. " You know," he said, " that this agreement was made by Tangyailing who, in his time, did a great deal of harm ; he fought with China and Nepal, and even treated his own subjects badly." He also said that, since he had taken over the Government, he had quarrelled with no one and only wished to lead a holy life. With your Government, he said, he wished to live in amicable relations. " Your Government must not be angry with me. I have never done it any harm. I allow my subjects to trade in the products of the country, such as yaks' tails and wool ; but if any of the subjects of your big Government come

in here, I am afraid disturbances will follow." I pointed out that allowing merchants in would do no harm ; to which he replied that that might be, but that he doubted it ; and pointed to the manner in which the Chinese and Nepalese were always making trouble. The Dalai Lama also said that he would try to get the agreement about writing broken, but that it would take time. I asked him just to give me a line, saying that he could not accept the Viceroy's letter, but he refused again, saying that it would be an infringement of the agreement. The Dalai Lama is a clever man, and is really sorry that he was unable to accept the Viceroy's letter or send any letter. Also that the Dalai Lama and the Chinese are not on good terms, but that he fears them. This is all I can remember.

I.—MR. WHITE'S FIRST MISSION.

The next step taken was the delegation of Mr. Claude White, political officer in Sikkim, to proceed to the frontier of Sikkim, and remove the boundary marks erected by the Tibetans at Gyao-gong La, through which runs the line of the old limits between North Sikkim and Tibet, to disperse the Tibetan guard there, and to arrange a new boundary 8 miles further north along a line of demarcation passing through the Kongra-lamo La. This accession of territory, which was secured to Sikkim under the Convention with China and Tibet in 1890, may be styled the Gyaogong plateau and is mostly a desolate mountainous tract including lands lying north of the Dongkya Pass and surrounding the Cholamo lakes visited by Hooker. Chinese officials had been deputed to meet Mr. White ; and the latter had been instructed to suggest that Great Britain would probably give up to Tibet the disputed lands if the Tibetans would consent to open Phari as a trading centre to British subjects.

In June 1902, Mr. Claude White proceeded, from Gangtok to the Gyao-gong plateau to meet the Chinese Commissioners. He was escorted by 150 Gurkha soldiers under two officers, Captain Murray and Lieut. Coleridge. He was also accompanied by two experienced trained surveyors, Rinzing and Lobsang. As a result, the negotiations with Ho Kwang-hsi and Captain Parr, Chinese Commissioners, led to no definite decision ; but the Tibetan boundary erections were demolished, new ones set up on three other Passes, and the whole tract between the old and new frontier lines carefully surveyed. At Kongra-lamo the boundary seems to have been adjusted further north than the actual Pass (such as it is), namely, at P'u-chung-pang, 3 miles or less below the Serpurbu Pass. Mr. White took many photographs, and he was able to fix the position by triangulation of certain distant points in Tibet observable from lofty localities. His observations for altitude were numerous ; but, according to Mr. Douglas Freshfield, his fixtures as a rule give a greater height than is actually correct.

One curious indirect result of his expedition is given by Mr. White in a letter dated October 20th, 1902 : "I have received the following information, which is interesting, as it is the first time that the Dalai Lama has acknowledged a European official. I understand that the Tibetans had contemplated stopping all communications with India, but that, owing to the Commissioner at Yatung, Captain Parr, having been appointed by the Emperor of China to

discuss frontier matters, they have reconsidered the subject and are willing to discuss. The Dalai Lama has also asked Captain Parr to procure for him some artificial flowers, a trivial request, but one showing that the objection to Europeans must be on the decline.’’

2.—THE MISSION AT KAMBA JONG.

In the project to effect a *rapprochement* with Tibet and to come into definite relationship with the Central Government at Lhása, further steps had now to be taken. Our only leverage in such endeavours which could be legitimately used was still the disputed plateau on the Tibetan border of Sikkim and the lesser question of mutual grazing rights in that region.

Accordingly, in the spring of 1903, Lord Curzon proposed to the Secretary of State for India that he (Lord Curzon) should write to the Chinese Amban at Lhása, Yu-tang by name, suggesting that representatives from India should meet either the Amban or some high official at Kamba Jong in Tibet to enter upon the negotiations. In a despatch dated May 7th 1903 Lord Curzon insisted that these negotiations should include not only the boundary matter but also the general and trade relations between India and Tibet.

In a limited sense the Home Government assented to the Viceroy's propositions, accepting the idea of an escorted Mission to Kamba Jong, but expressly negating that of the future establishment of a British

political agent at Gyangtse or at Lhása. It was two or three months previous to this that the Russian Government had received information of a forthcoming British Mission to Tibet; and, on intervening through the Russian Ambassador in London, had met with the decided and now historical snub administered by Lord Lansdowne—a rebuff which later on, as we shall see, was destined to develop into a lecture of a minatory and useful character. In the meantime the Chinese authorities at Peking had been urged from London to communicate with the Senior Amban or Chinese Resident in Lhása asking that he should arrange for Tibetan and Chinese delegates to meet the British Commissioners at Kamba Jong. Sometime after came the reply that the prefect Ho Kwang-hsi (who had met Mr. White at Gyao-gong in 1902) together with Captain Parr, the Customs Agent at Yatong, would act as Chinese representatives, and with two Tibetans above the usual rank as “interpreter officials” would be able to meet the British Commissioners. The Amban quoted the Dalai Lama’s words, and it will be noted that, in spite of the interpretation afterwards put upon his words by our Government, he expressly refrained from styling the two Tibetans either delegates or commissioners.

In June 1903, Major F. E. Younghusband, C.I.E., was formally constituted British Commissioner of the *Tibet Frontier Commission*; Mr. Claude White became Joint Commissioner; while Captain W. F. T. O’Connor, an expert in all matters relating to Tibet

with a perfect knowledge of the Tibetan colloquial, was appointed Secretary. It was further arranged that the Kumar Tulku of Sikkim, heir to the Sikkim throne, and Major G. H. Bretherton, should accompany the Commissioners. The escort provided was 200 men of the 32nd Sikh Pioneers with Captains Bethune and Cooke and Lieut. Bailey in command. As a supporting military base, 300 additional troops were to be posted at some convenient spot in the Lachhen Valley in Sikkim.

Early in July the Commissioners and their escort arrived in North Sikkim. Colonel Younghusband was very unwell and determined to abide for a few days at Tang-gu in the Lachhen Valley, a place about 12,600 feet in altitude, which was fixed upon as base. There was much sickness in the troops, also ; 60 of the Pioneers having to be left in hospital at Tang-gu. On July 4th, Mr. White and Captain O'Connor with the escort and officers started forward to the Tibetan frontier, leaving Colonel Younghusband. Having camped the night at Go-chang, on the morning of the 5th they approached the boundary as claimed by the Tibetans at Gyao-gong, Mr. White riding at the head of the main body. We may now quote Captain O'Connor's interesting diary :—

I rode forward, and was met by the Jongpen of Khamba Jong at the wall, which the Tibetans claim as their frontier. He importuned me to dismount, and to persuade Mr. White to do the same in order to discuss matters. I told him that no discussion was feasible here, and repeated my message of the night before. I rode back accompanied by the Jongpen, and met Mr. White as he rode up.

We then rode on quietly, passed the wall, and just beyond we saw the two Lhasa officers, arrayed in yellow silks and accompanied by a crowd of unarmed retainers, riding up towards us from their camp. I rode up to meet them, when they dismounted and spoke to me very civilly, requesting me to ask Mr. White to dismount and proceed to their tent close by to partake of refreshment and to "discuss matters." I replied, using the honorific language, that Mr. White was not prepared to break his journey or to discuss matters at Gyao-gong, but would be pleased to greet the two officials and to receive them that evening in his camp. Any discussion must be deferred until arrival at Khamba Jong, in accordance with the instructions of the Government of India, and after the arrival of Colonel Younghusband and the other Commissioner. I begged them to be mounted and to ride up to meet Mr. White. They, however, pressed forward on foot, and, catching hold of Mr. White's bridle, importuned him to dismount and to repair to their tents. At the same time their servants pressed round our horses, and seizing our reins endeavoured to lead us away. After speaking very civilly to the two big officials and repeating what had already been said, we were obliged to call two or three sepoys to clear away the horses' ground in front of us, and we then rode onwards awhile. The two Tibetan officers mounted and rode back to their camp. The Khamba Jongpen afterwards followed us, and made repeated efforts to induce me to halt for a day at our next camp, Gyamtso-nang, in order to confer with the two officials. He was in a very excited and agitated state, and hinted, more than once, at possible hostilities. He said "you may flick a dog once or twice without his biting, but if you tread on his tail, even if he has no teeth, he will turn and try to bite you." Late that same evening (at about 7-30 p.m.) Mr. Ho's clerk came into our camp with the news that Mr. Ho had arrived from Chumbi and was lodged at Giri. After asking us to remain the next day at Giao-gong, he returned to Giri.

Kamba Jong (really Gan-pa Jong) lies at the foot and on the steep side of a ridge 16 miles N. N.-W. of the so-called Kongra-lamo Pass, and therefore that distance within Tibetan territory and 23 miles from the old

frontier bounds at Gyao-gong. The Kongra-lamo La is no real Pass, only a gentle and hardly-observable watershed. The route thence, after 4 miles, mounts to the Serpurbu Pass, whence it follows a track, gradually descending in elevation, over a desolate plain to Giri, a squalid Tibetan hamlet with, to the N., another collection of a few hovels built within a rectangular enclosure, the wall of which is about 7 feet high. One or two streams, part of the head-waters of the Dudh Kosi of Nepal, have to be ridden through; whence an ascent occurs over a spur protruding from a range to the N-E. From there a level run over a bleak upland brings the wayfarer to Kamba Jong, the exact position of which has been calculated by the Survey of India as in lat. $28^{\circ} 16' 40''$ N., long. $88^{\circ} 34'$ E.

This outpost of the Tibetan Government is of old standing; the village lying below, the chief feature is the fortress built on the crags above and garrisoned with a few troops under a *dingpon* and presided over by two *jongpon* or Tibetan civil officers. An English visitor to the Commissioner's camp in the following October describes the fortress on the hill-side as a vast rambling building realising his old story-book ideas of a giant's castle—grim, climbing, and loop-holed.

Arriving on July 7th, Mr. Claude White had his camp pitched on the plain, with the *jong* or fort above them, lying in front as the crow flies a quarter of a mile off. The tents were set up within entrenchments, and soon the whole was engirt with a 4-foot wall sur-

rounded by a ditch ; and the two Maxim guns were mounted there. A considerable stream ran to the west of the camp ; but we hardly gather from the "diary" whether it was the Chi Chhu or the Yaru Chhu. The backward view to the south as seen from this spot was of an unexpected character. Kangchenjunga, though still somewhat of its old shape as viewed from Darjeeling, no longer appeared buttressed up in the very skies, but lay quite low, with the plains, as it were, shelving up almost to its neck. Chomiomo, Kangchenjha, and other rectangular-topped mountains, which seemed to Sir J. D. Hooker stupendous and which form such a feature in the landscape when beheld from the south, now, though only from 20 to 25 miles distant, as seen from Kamba Jong, were no longer mountains but only part of the undulating downs that swept in lengthy waves up to their crest.

The general aspect of nature around Kamba Jong, which stands at an altitude now adjusted at 15,200 feet but possibly hardly that, is tame and cheerless. There are no trees, only a few bushes with quantities of scrub of the dried roots and stalks of *Eurotia* and of a species of *Artemisia*. These last two often survive from growths of former years and prove most useful as fuel and kindling for fires. Major Bretherton, however, found a valley 4 miles to the S.-W. which he described as rich and fertile, where crops of barley were growing and sheep and cattle were reared.

While waiting for Colonel Younghusband to come up, Mr. White and Captain O'Connor had several in-

terviews with the Chinese Commissioner "Mr. Ho," and with the two Tibetan officials. These last proved to be the Tsarong Depon named Wang chhuk—a military personage—and an ecclesiastic named Lo-pu Tsang, styled by Captain O'Connor as a *tung-yig chhem-po*, i.e., a chief clerk in the Lhása treasury. The latter gentleman was for a Tibetan a travelled personage, having visited Peking, Calcutta, and Shanghai. However, both the Tibetans showed themselves, then and afterwards, utterly impossible to deal with; poor Mr. Ho, a reasonable yet not too courageous individual, being driven to his wits' end in his vain efforts to control the Tibetan couple and to appease the British Commissioners.

During his enforced rest at Tang-gu, Colonel Young-husband was not idle in his mind. He conceived while there the great project of endeavouring to effect no less a purpose than an interview betwixt himself and the Dalai Lama of Lhása. To this end he indited a letter to the Senior Amban, informing him that he had been told that the Dalai Lama was contemplating a tour from Lhása westwards and suggesting the advantages which would accrue to all concerned if he could be permitted to meet his holiness and explain the pacific and laudable objects of the British Mission. To shew how quickly under certain circumstances a letter can reach the authorities at Lhása from the Sikkim frontier, we may mention that the Amban's answer, which he addressed not to Colonel Young-husband but to the Viceroy, was written only nine

days after the date of the Colonel's missive to him. The reply took only five days coming from Lhása to Kamba Jong, a distance of 225 miles. In this reply it was denied that the Dalai Lama was going westwards; and the impracticability of the proposed interview was pointed out.

And here we may remark that the Kamba Jong Mission at any rate brought about one great advantage, namely, freedom of official communication between the Head of the Indian Government and at least one high functionary in the capital of Tibet. Several letters passed thereafter between the Amban at Lhása and the Viceroy at Simla—an improvement on the very recent days when all such intercourse was unknown.

Colonel Younghusband having recovered, marched up to Kamba Jong, reaching that place for the first time on July 18th. But the situation did not tend to improve. The two Tibetan officials, at first just civil, had neither the courage nor the credentials necessary to anything like the settlement of political questions. On the occasion of his second interview with them, Colonel Younghusband had compiled a lengthy and telling review of the matters at issue, and this, which had been translated into Tibetan by Captain O'Connor, was read as a speech to the two Tibetans. They listened attentively to the reading of the speech, and at its finish the Tung-yig Chhempo remarked that, whilst not now wishing to discuss what had been said, he must observe, that previous to the Convention of 1800 the trade with India by way of Chhumbi was of a trifling

kind and in the hands of petty traders, but that since that time it had largely increased and was now conducted by wealthy merchants. His point seemed to be that, as the traffic there was at present so good, he was at a loss to understand what more could be desired by the Indian Government. Copies of the speech were drawn up and handed to Mr. Ho and the Tibetan officials, in the hope that so full a review of the situation as this was might eventually be read by intelligent men in Lhása ; and thus right impressions become current in the capital.

With the men from Lhása negotiations at once came to a deadlock ; and ultimately they shut themselves up in the fort, refusing to see anyone and forbidding all intercourse between the camp and the inmates of the fort. Their attitude is thus summed up : “ We cannot accept letters ; we cannot write letters ; we cannot let you into our zone ; we cannot let you travel ; we cannot discuss matters because this is not the proper place ; go back to Gyaogong and send away all your soldiers, and we will come to an agreement.” It is easy to see, as Captain O'Connor remarks, what such an agreement would amount to.

The disposition of the Government of Tsang (the province which abuts on Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan, and in which province Kamba Jong really stands) has always been much more favourable towards intercourse with India and the British. It was between the Táshi Lama, who rules this province, and the Indian Government, that the courtesies of the days of Warren

Hastings were carried on. It was the Minister of the Táshi Lama who invited and received as his guest Sarat Chandra Dás in 1879 and 1882. Unfortunately, now, in exterior political affairs and in questions of the admission of foreigners, the Tsang Government (the *Labrang Gyalts'en Thömpo*, as it is termed) seems to be completely subordinate to the *Dewa Zhung* or Government of Lhása which, under the lamas' influence, is so prejudicial against the British.

As illustrating the better feeling of the Tsang Government, there arrived in the Commissioners' camp on July 29th a delegate from Táshi-lhümpo, the monastery where the Táshi Lama (the *Panchhen Rimpo-chhe*) resides, bringing presents, with a small retinue of Shigatse men from the town adjoining the monastery. His name was Badula, an elderly man of fine presence, and he became a great favourite in the camp. Colonel Younghusband thus relates his official interview with this monk :—

The Deputy said he had been sent by the Tashi Lama to represent to us that he was put to great trouble with the Lhása authorities by our presence here ; that the Lhása authorities held him responsible for permitting us to cross the frontier ; and he begged that I would kindly save him from this trouble by withdrawing across the frontier or to Yatung, which was the place fixed for meetings of this kind. I explained to him and his associates very carefully, that Mr. White and I had been sent to discuss certain frontier and trade matters with delegates who would be appointed by the Chinese and Tibetan Governments, and that the place where these negotiations should be carried on was a matter for decision by my Government in consultation with the Chinese Government. In this matter of the meeting place for negotiations I had

absolutely no discretion. They then said that they would petition the Chinese ; and I told them the Amban had already represented the matter to his Government : and that all we officials on the spot could do was to abide by the decision which our Governments had come to. I then explained to them, for the benefit of their master, the reason of our presence here ; how they had without provocation attacked our troops in Sikkim ; how we had defeated them ; how the Amban had come and interceded for them ; how we had concluded a Treaty arranging for trade at Yatung and fixing the boundary of Sikkim at the water-parting between the Teesta River and the rivers of Tibet ; how they had prevented traders from trading, knocked down the boundary pillars, and occupied places on the Indian side of the boundary ; and how we had come to revise this Treaty and see that it would be observed in future. They replied that they knew nothing of the Treaty, as it was concluded by the Amban and not by themselves : and they could not be responsible for observing it. I said that that was precisely the reason for our presence here in Tibet. We wished now to make a new Treaty here, where Tibetans themselves could take part in the negotiations, so that they would not in future be able to say that they knew nothing about it. They laughed again and thought this a reasonable argument ; but they said that, as it was the Lhása people and not themselves who had broken the Treaty, we ought to go to Yatung and make the new Treaty there ; and they begged me to get leave from the Viceroy to move there and so save the Táshi Lama from trouble. I told them that, in the first place, they also had broken the Treaty by crossing the boundary and occupying Giaogong ; and, in the second place, we must regard Tibetans as all one people, and hold all responsible for the actions of each. The Táshi Lama must make up his differences with the Lhása authorities in his own way ; and at any rate he could write and say that the English gave no trouble at Khamba Jong, for we had taken special care to avoid giving trouble of any sort to the country-people ; we had brought everything with us ; and we had paid liberally for anything that had been voluntarily brought us for sale. The Deputy hastily replied that it was not *we* who gave the trouble, but the Chinese and Lhása officials who came to negotiate with us and who

took everything by force. Little more of importance passed, and on taking leave the Deputy said he would give my message of thanks to the Táshi Lama, and he asked that we would be friendly towards him. I said we had no wish to be anything else; that we had not seen any signs yet of the Tibetans wishing to be friendly to us; but, directly they showed any friendly inclination towards us, they might be sure we would meet them half way. The impression left upon me by this interview is that these Tibetans, though excessively childish, are very pleasant cheery people and, individually, probably not at all badly disposed towards us. Perhaps, too, these Shigatse people are a trifle less bigoted than their Lhása brethren. Another point which seemed to be clear from the conversation is that there is considerable friction between the Shigatse and the Lhása people.

And here it will be convenient to introduce certain important and useful items of information collected by Captain O'Connor concerning the present shape which the Government of Lhása has, at least temporarily, assumed, particularly with regard to the National Monkish Assembly—the *Ts'ang-du Tse-dzom*—which seems now in full session. The information which Sarat Chandra Dás communicated to Government on this same subject has not been made public.

Captain O'Connor's remarks are put in a manner so interesting that we extract them from his diary *verbatim* as given in the Parliamentary Blue Book:—

23rd July.—A young Tibetan from the Chinese camp visited me in the evening, and I had an interesting conversation with him regarding Tibetan manners and customs. His elder brother is a monk in Sera monastery, and he tells me the monks of the three big monasteries are a truculent lot—regularly drilled, bitterly hostile to foreigners, and apparently spoiling for a fight. Arms of sorts for all the monks are stored in the monasteries. He tells me that the nominal number of monks in Sera—5,500—is far below the reality, and similarly in De-bung and Ga-den. He is the third bro-

ther of four, and the three younger have one wife between them. He explained a good many of the household arrangements, and I hope to get hold of him again and learn some more. He says Mr. Ho detests this place. The water doesn't agree with him, and he has a bucket (of the Tibetan pattern) of water brought to him daily from Giaogong, at a cost of 12 annas. Like all the poorer class of Tibetans he complains of the extortions of the officials in the matter of taxes and forced carriage (*kar begar* of the North-West). He says every penny we pay here for grass and so on goes into the pockets of the Jongpen, and nothing whatever reaches the wretched *misser* or peasant.

24th July.—I spent the morning in camp collecting information regarding the Tibetan Government and the Tsong-du-Chembo, or great national assembly, in which, as might be expected, the powerful abbots of the three great monasteries have a preponderating influence. As usual, the information of my informants was most conflicting, and will have to be rigorously checked. The difficulty is to get hold of men of position and real knowledge. Servants and peasants naturally have very sketchy ideas on affairs of State. The Te-ling Kusho, the son of the old Pagh Diwan of Sikkim, called on the Sikkim Kumar to-day and spent most of the day conversing in his tent. He is a stout pleasant-faced young man of 29, and has rank of *Dung-Kor*, with no duties attached to it. He has two estates in Tibet, one at Te-ling just north of here on the southern slopes of the central chain, and one near She-kar Jong (the Shikar Jong of the maps) in the Brahmaputra valley, where he tells me he gets good and enormous crops. He has frequently visited Lhasa, and gave me some interesting information. He is staying with the Jongpen in the Jong.

25th July.—I sent off two men to Taktsang Gomba to see if they could meet the Tibetan soldiers and bring us back word how they were armed, &c. The Te-ling Kusho came again and spent most of the day with the Kumar. Like most unofficial Tibetans I have met, he appears to entertain a cordial dislike to his own Government and its methods. He told Mr. White that he and most men in his position would be only too delighted to see the country opened up to trade, and there can be no doubt that this is the case.

All enterprise and enlightenment in this country is stifled by the great monk faction, who are well aware that progress is fatal to their influence. In the course of my enquiries one very strong position, on which the Chinese take their stand in Tibetan politics, has been frequently emphasised. This position is due to the fact that the three Lhása monasteries—Sera, De-bung, and Ga-den—are directly subsidised by the Chinese Emperor. The subsidy takes the form chiefly, according to the popular idea generally prevalent, of a daily free tea to all the monks of these monasteries. The consequence is that the Lama faction, by far the strongest in Tibetan politics, is an uncompromising supporter of China. Any policy likely to be distasteful to China is vigorously opposed by the monks for fear that by offending China they may lose their Chinese grant. I have frequently heard this argument used as one of the reasons why the Tibetans so persistently oppose the introduction into Tibet of Indian tea. It is thought that should the Chinese tea trade decline the grant to the "Ser-de-gye-sum" (the three great monasteries) would be withheld. And the same argument is applied in many other matters where Chinese and Tibetan interests conflict. Of this I can give various examples. But it may be asked how the monastic influence is brought to bear on a Government in which three out of the four principal Ministers (*Shaps*) are laymen. The fact seems to be that lying behind the Tale Lama, the Shaps, and all the machinery of the Tibetan Government, as we have hitherto been acquainted with it, there is an institution called the "Tsong-du-chembo" or "Tsong-du gze-tsom," which may reasonably be compared with what we call a "National Assembly" or, as the word implies, "Great Assembly." It is constituted of the Kenpas or abbots of the three great monasteries, representatives from the four *lings* or small monasteries actually in Lhasa City and from all the other monasteries in the province of U; and besides this all the officials of the Government are present—laymen and ecclesiastics alike—to the number of several hundreds. It is said, but I do not yet know with what truth, that the Tale Lama presides in person. The Tsong-du then is the assemblage of all the notables of Central Tibet, and some of my informants tell me that the provinces—Tsang and Kham—are represented as well. No fixed time or period is laid

down for the meeting of the assembly. It is convoked only upon occasions of national need or importance, but more especially with reference to frontier matters. In the Tsong-du meetings the abbots of the three great monasteries appear to be the preponderating influence—held in consideration far above the Shapes or any other Government officials, and this is natural when we recollect that they are backed by a following of above 20,000 armed and bigoted monks within easy reach. Their views and that of their brother abbots from elsewhere undoubtedly sway the assembly and dictate the policy of the country. There can be, in fact, no one to oppose them.

The *impasse* continued as the month of August progressed. Mr. Wilton, of the British Consular Service in China, and well conversant with the Chinese language, was deputed to assist the British Commissioners; and the Viceroy addressed a formal letter to Yu-kang, the Senior Amban, complaining of the incompetence and insufficient rank of both the Chinese Commissioner Ho and the Tibetan officials. His excellency now requested that the Amban himself should come that he might represent China, while a *Kalon* or Privy Councillor ought to be sent to represent the Tibetans. The excuse, however, for non-compliance was that Yu-kang's term of office had expired and he had now no jurisdiction to deal with such affairs. The succeeding Senior Amban, Yu-tai by name, though appointed in December 1902, either from fear or else under secret instructions, did not even start from Peking for Lhása until September 1903, and in October had only got as far as Ta-chien-lu on the Szechuen border. It was subsequently ascertained that he did not reach Lhása until February 12th, 904.

In connection with the sojourn of the Commissioners on these remote heights, the supply and transport service was undoubtedly the chief difficulty. The troops, camp followers, ponies and draught beasts had to be fed and housed for months ; and long before the actual arrival of the Commissioners and escort, the transport operations were in full swing. However, every description of disease and casualty had to be combated—anthrax, rinderpest, aconite and rhododendron poisoning, falling over precipices, foot-and-mouth disease. The worst fatalities to the transport animals occurred as early as May 1903, when experiments were made with two hundred buffaloes, of which all died but three, and thirteen camels of which not one survived. These were employed at a low elevation in the Teesta Valley. Later on in the year fully fifty per cent. of the yaks, collected in Nepal, died from anthrax and rinderpest. The coolies at first did not prove a success. They were discontented and refractory, though the pay was twelve rupees a month with rations and warm clothing. Certain supplies were obtained locally, such as grass and fuel, payment being made to the *Jong-pon*.

During their lengthy sojourn of over 4 months at Kamba Jong the European intruders were supplied by the Transport with every necessity and some luxuries ; while the Chinese and Tibetans were often in sore straits, for Kamba Jong lies right away from all regular trade-routes. Another body of Pioneers was employed in improving the road up the

Lachhen valley; and presently a line of telegraph from Darjeeling was laid under the direction of Mr. McMahon, an officer of the department, which actually, by September 13th, was extended to reach the heights of Kamba Jong.

The next visitor to the Commissioners from the Tibetan side was another ecclesiastic from Tashi-lhümpo, a man of the highest rank, the incarnate lama of the Tantrik College in the monastery, but it is said not the Tantrik lama who was lately Regent of the province of Tsang during the minority of the present Panchhen Rimpochhe or Táshi Lama. He arrived on August 21st bringing a *tsi-dung* or monk-clerk and two lay officials. He was a stout man of 35 or so, quiet and dignified. He had a courteous smile and looked gratified when Colonel Younghusband addressed any friendly remarks to him. He said it was not usual for the incarnate lama of a monastery to proceed on a political mission, but he had come at the special desire of the Táshi Lama to represent that the Lhása authorities were holding his master responsible for this intrusion of the Mission. The usual arguments for and against the presence of the Mission on Tibetan soil were interchanged as on other occasions. On the following day Captain O'Connor and the Kumār Raja returned the abbot's visit.

"His tent consisted of a sort of enclosure surrounded by a 7-foot canvas wall and open to all the winds of heaven. Over one end, where he had established himself, is a small canopy, and this is his only shelter. He

has a raised seat with a sort of little altar on his right hand, where he has placed his sacred images and the small odds and ends with which Buddhist altars are decorated in Tibet. He sat bareheaded with his right arm also bare. He received us in a very friendly manner, and we sat and chatted with him for half an hour on different subjects. His whole life has been devoted to his religious exercises, and he appears quite ignorant of the world at large,—politics, science, history, and geography all equally beyond his ken. He has never travelled beyond the bounds of the Tashi-lhümpo monastery, except to visit his parents at his birth-place, a small hamlet beyond the Tsangpo. He gave us many interesting details regarding his monastic life. Badula and the other officials then entered, and we turned to politics. The abbot said that, on leaving our camp the day before, he had proceeded straight to the Jong, where he had urged upon the Lhása officials to commence negotiations with us at Khamba Jong as soon as possible; but had received the invariable reply that no negotiations could take place except at Yatung or on the Giaogong frontier. This was the substance of a long discussion."

At the second visit paid by the Tashi-lhümpo abbot to Colonel Younghusband he was particularly sweet and persuasive. He urged that the escort might be sent back, or if the whole could not go away, might not too of the troops return to Sikkim and he himself would remain as an hostage that no harm should befall the Mission! Colonel Younghusband replied that an

escort did not imply any unfriendly intent and that it was a necessary appanage of an officer of high rank on important duty in a foreign country.

Under date, August 31st, Colonel Younghusband wrote that "he learnt from a trustworthy informant that the Tibetans believed themselves fully equal to the English, and that far from our getting anything out of them, they think that they will be able to force something out of us. Some 2,600 Tibetan soldiers are believed, he says, to be occupying the heights and passes along a line running between Phari and Shigatse. 1,000 rifles manufactured at Lhása have been issued to the Lhása Command, and 500 each to the Phari and Shigatse Commands. He does not think, however, that they will attack us for the present, though they may in the winter, when they think our communication is cut off by snow. Their present policy is one of passive obstruction. They have made up their minds to have no negotiations with us *inside* Tibet; and they will simply leave us here; while, if we try to advance further, they will oppose us by force. They are afraid that, if they give us an inch we will take an ell; and if they allow us here one year, we will go to Shigatse the next and Lhása the next. So they are determined to stop us at the start. At the same time these Lhása delegates—and the local officials, to curry favour, encourage them in the view—are very indisposed towards us. They say we give them a great deal of trouble here; and the Depon (General) has gone so far as to say (to his own people) that he

does not like meat as a rule, but he would not at all mind eating *our* flesh. The Shigatse abbot has done his best to make the Lhása officials take a more reasonable view, but without success. And the Lhása officials are entirely ruled by the National Assembly at Lhása, composed of Lhása monks."

Again, on September 7th, the Colonel notes: "A monk whom Captain O'Connor had sent to Lhása returned here to-day with the information that the Lhása authorities have quite made up their minds to fight, though they will make no move until the late autumn when the crops are gathered in. The monks are most ready to fight, but the lay authorities say they are not required for the present. 2,000 rifles have been given out, and the people generally been warned to be ready for war."

While news of this character came filtering into camp, the Commissioners sat fast at Kamba Jong. Information that two Sikkim men of the Lachhung Valley had been carried off and imprisoned at Shigatse was, moreover, sought to be used as an agency of legitimate pressure upon the Tibetan authorities on the ground that the men were British subjects. Some yaks in the Gyao-gong territory were seized by way of reprisal and an indemnity of Rs. 2,000 demanded from the Tibetan Government. No other political event occurred during the month of September, except the recall to Lhása of the worthy and harassed "Mr. Ho," and the arrival in his place of a new Chinese Commissioner styled in the reports "Colonel Chao."

Captain Parr, of the Chinese Customs, was also in camp to assist the new-comer.

But if the Commissioners all these months officially as a body sat fast at Kamba Jong, the individual members of that body were not tied to the place. Several important exploring excursions were undertaken. A very early one was for a few miles to the N.-W. to the hills encradling a great lake in dimensions about 12 miles by 4 or 5. This was the Ts'o-mo Tel-thung. "It is a wide sheet of blue water enclosed on three sides by hills with two steep-sided promontories projecting into it from the north. It was all visible except the extreme south-west corner. The question of its drainage is still unsolved. In the plain directly north of us we could see with our glasses numerous large flocks of sheep and some yaks feeding in the grassy stretches. The sheep must have numbered many thousands. No survey was attempted, as, owing to mist on the surrounding hill-tops, it was impossible to fix our position accurately. In the plain to our north and round about the lake, some 15 villages or more were visible."

Another and more valuable trip was made towards the east and north. It is thus described by Captain O'Connor :—

15th September.—Bright clear morning. Minimum temperature during the night 19°.5. Temperature at 6-30 a.m. 25°. Leaving camp at 7-30 a.m., we travelled in a S.-E. direction to the summit of the Kang-chung La. From the summit of the pass we had a fair view of Tibet to N. and N.-E. The general character of the country

is far more mountainous than I had supposed, the hills rising 2,000 and 3,000 feet above the valley bottoms. Leaving the yaks to continue down the valley to the N.-E., Mr. White and I rode up the hillside to the east to a height of some 20,000 feet, where we could see Chomolhari and the Bham Tso on the main Chumbi-Gya gtsé road. We descended thence along a ridge to a "dok" or shepherds' encampment at the junction of four streams some 8 or 9 miles from the summit of the pass. On arrival here we found that our yak-drivers had mistaken their orders and gone astray, and we sent off our only attendant (my Tibetan servant) to hunt for them. It was now getting dark, so we resigned ourselves to a night in the open and soon lit a good fire of yak-dung. Just at dark a small party of Tibetans sneaked up to our camp and took us by surprise; but they were very civil, and withdrew when we told them to come again in the morning. By nine o'clock our yaks and servants turned up. Elevation of our camp 17,000 feet.

16th September.—Clear, cloudless morning. Minimum temperature during the night 18°·2. We found quite a crowd of Tibetans gathered round us in the morning, some 50 or 60 altogether, and they kept dropping in by twos and threes until we started. They were most of them "soldiers," without arms of any kind, and as simple and good-natured a collection of young yokels as we could wish to meet. They made no attempt to interfere with us in any way, only asking us to go back or they would get into trouble. We announced our intention of going straight across country to Khamba Jong, to which they cheerfully acquiesced—only too thankful to be rid of us at any price. They were under the orders of a "Shengo" or "Dingpon." After forming them up in line and photographing them, we rode off in an easterly direction towards Ta-tsang Gumpa. Our escort accompanied us for a mile or two, and we parted on the best of terms. These so-called soldiers were all Gyangtse men brought here to watch the passes. They are simple and a collection of ignorant untrained rustics without the slightest pretensions towards military acquirements and apparently without arms. Their one idea of military science is to build ridiculous little breast-walls on the crests of passes and across the roads. After a short march of some seven miles, we camped on the banks of a stream some five miles south of Ta-tsang Gumpa.

17th September.—Clear morning. Minimum temperature 24° sending our baggage to Ta-tsang Gompa, we rode in a north-easterly direction for some seven miles to the summit of a pass in the central chain whence we obtained a good view of the Kala Tso and the country in the neighbourhood. There was the usual Tibetan guard at the top of the pass and the usual breastworks defending the pass and the hills on either side. The Kala Tso lies in a wide open basin surrounded by hills on all sides. Round the shores of the lake are green marshy-looking expanses, with a "dok" here and there, but no houses or villages visible. Neither in the plain of the lake, nor on the surrounding hillsides, could we see any trace of "yomo" or other fuel. The Gyangtse road lies along the eastern shores of the lake across a level plain, and then enters what appeared to us a narrow gorge with high steep hills on either side. We chatted freely with the Tibetan soldiers, and they gave us the benefit of such topographical knowledge as they possessed. The pass we were on is called the Lombo La, elevation 16,950 feet. It is reached by an easy gradient on either side, and the stream flowing to the east drains into the Kala Tso through an open grassy valley. This is certainly the easiest way to reach the Kala Tso either from Giri or from Khamba Jong. Making a slight detour, we rode to our camp at Ta-tsang Gompa, which we reached at 2 p.m., shooting a kyang *en route*.

In the evening we visited Ta-tsang Gompa, which is an *Ani Gompa*, or nunnery containing 36 nuns. These good ladies received us without the smallest embarrassment, and allowed us to take their photographs and to converse with them freely. They ranged through all ages from 10 to 80, and were most of them incredibly dirty; but some of the younger women were quite pretty, and all were most cheerful and friendly. After visiting their place of worship, we distributed some rupees, and left with a promise to send them some tea, &c., as a present from Khamba. The Gompa is built on a rock by the side of a nice stream of water which flows here in a grassy valley.

18th September.—It clouded up during the night, and there were heavy banks of clouds all round and overhead in the morning. Minimum temperature 33°. We paid a second visit to

the nunnery before starting and took some more photographs. Starting at 8-45 a.m., we rode quietly into Khamba Jong, a distance of about 20 miles. Keeping to the south of the range of hills bounding the Khamba Jong nulla, we crossed a very elevated plateau sloping gradually upwards for some seven or eight miles, and covered with herds of kyang and goat. We reached our camp at 2 p.m., just in time to escape a heavy fall of hail which whitened all the hills behind us. The yaks took nine hours to cover the distance.

As a result of our trip, we have made ourselves thoroughly acquainted with the country to the east of this place as far as the crest of the hills separating the basin of the Arun from the streams flowing into the Kala Tso, and can now move in the direction of Gyangtse over routes which we know. As regards the fuel question, there is no fuel (except the usual small quantities of yak-dung) between Khamba Jong and Kala Tso. A force moving in that direction would have to carry at least four days' fuel. Native information says that on leaving Kala Tso, scrub bushes of sorts are found in plenty all the way to Gyangtse.

During the sojourn of the Commissioners several visitors were permitted to come up from Calcutta for scientific or other purposes. One of these was Major Prain, I.M.S., Director of the Botanic Gardens near Calcutta, an authority on Tibetan and Himalayan botany. He came to prospect for new plants and to estimate the flora of the region, but as the learned botanist had some years back sent one or two trained Tibetan collectors in his service to the district next east from Kamba Jong, we believe he was not well repaid for his trouble. The botany of the district was found to be identical with that of Phari. Another department represented was the Geological Survey of India, in the interests of which Mr. Hayden appeared. Mr. Hayden went far and wide reaching distances 20 miles

to the N. N.-W. and 18 miles to the east, examining with other localities the geology of Hooker's Cholamo lakes. He pronounced that the geological formation of these tracts and of the neighbourhood of Kamba Jong generally was not such as indicated the occurrence of gold. He collected a number of fossils.

Mr. C. H. Harrison, Postmaster-General of Bengal, also took the opportunity of running up into Tibet and personally completing the arrangements for a service of postal coolies to work by relays between Darjeeling, Tang-gu and Kamba Jong—the first time that His Majesty's mails had ever penetrated the realms of the Dalai Lama. In connection with these visits, as well as apart from them, there was a good deal of sport and zoological investigation. Numbers of goa, kyang, burrhel (Tibetan *napo*), wolves, and hares were shot; and Lieutenant Bailey was fortunate enough to bag two or three *Ovis Hodgsoni*. Hares seem to have swarmed; on one excursion a party of three shooting 54 in a few hours.

Symptoms of the close of this futile attempt to bring the Tibetans to reason became pretty evident now as the autumn wore away. On October 11th Colonel Younghusband was summoned to Simla to confer with His Excellency the Viceroy; and presently came the news that the Mission and its escort were to be recalled. Early in November 1903 the order to return was issued; and in the same breath, as it were, another Expedition or Mission was announced—this time on a much more extensive and more martial

scale, with instructions to proceed *via* the Choumbi Valley and Phari to Gyangtse, a town and stronghold in Central Tibet.

3.—MILITARY EXPEDITION TO GYANGTSE.

The telegram in which Lord George Hamilton conveyed the sanction of the Home Government to the new proposals of His Excellency the Viceroy was (as printed in the Parliamentary Blue Book) dated November 6th, 1903, and in the following terms:—

In view of the recent conduct of the Tibetans, His Majesty's Government feel that it would be impossible not to take action, and they accordingly sanction the advance of the Mission to Gyangtse. They are, however, clearly of opinion that this step should not be allowed to lead to occupation or to permanent intervention in Tibetan affairs in any form. The advance should be made for the sole purpose of obtaining satisfaction, and as soon as reparation is obtained a withdrawal should be effected. While His Majesty's Government consider the proposed action to be necessary, they are not prepared to establish a permanent Mission in Tibet, and the question of enforcing trade facilities in that country must be considered in the light of the decision conveyed in this telegram.

Upon receipt of this telegram the Viceroy drew up and despatched a last missive to the Senior Amban at Lhása, the worried Yu-kang, who had been now detained a year over his time in the capital of the "barbarians." As it explains the reasons for the new and larger scheme so plainly we think we must insert it at length:—

Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India to His Excellency Yu, Chinese Imperial Resident at Lhasa, Bre- vet-Lieutenant-General of the Manchu Brigade ; dated Viceroy's Camp, the 8th November, 1903.

I have received your Excellency's despatch, dated 17th October, in which you state that you have nominated Colonel Chao to negotiate with my commissioners in place of Mr. Ho, and that you have asked the Dalai Lama to send a councillor of state to accompany your Excellency to Khamba Jong, but that time is required to settle the matter. Your Excellency further informs me that the Tibetan passes are guarded by soldiers, and you request me on that account to instruct my commissioners not to move their present camp.

In my letter, dated 25th August, I had asked you, in consideration of the importance of the present negotiations and of the high rank of the Commissioner whom I had on my part deputed to Khamba Jong, to nominate an official of higher position than Mr. Ho. I understand, however, from Colonel Younghusband that Colonel Chao, whom your Excellency now nominates, is not of higher, but of lower, position than Mr. Ho. You do, indeed, state in your letter that you will yourself accompany the Tibetan councillor to Khamba Jong when he is appointed, yet as your departure from Lhasa appears to be dependent on the nomination of a Councillor by the Dalai Lama, and as the Dalai Lama was four months ago asked to send an officer of the highest rank and has so far failed to do so, I see no prospect of your Excellency arriving at Khamba Jong with suitable Tibetan representatives within any reasonable time.

It is necessary for me to remind your Excellency clearly of the position at which we have arrived. The Tibetans have repudiated and broken the Convention made on their behalf by one of your predecessors at the conclusion of a campaign necessitated by their unprovoked aggression on a British feudatory state. Though the Dalai Lama intimated through the Chinese Government that he consented to the despatch of suitable commissioners to discuss the question of the boundary and of trade with the British representatives and to negotiate a revised treaty, and that he agreed to Khamba Jong as the place of meeting, yet the delegates whom he selected were of

inferior rank, and since their arrival at Khamba Jong, have refused to negotiate at all. They have declined to receive communications of any sort from my Commissioner, or to report to their Government the substance of a speech made to them by Colonel Younghusband in the presence of Mr. Ho. Further, two British subjects have been seized and beaten by the Tibetan authorities, and, in spite of repeated representations by my commissioners, these men have never been restored to liberty, nor has any information as to their present place of detention or condition been given. Lastly, while negotiations for the regulation of trade are under discussion, the Tibetan Government have prohibited all trade with India, and have assumed an attitude of open hostility.

In these circumstances, as the Tibetan Government has behaved in the manner described, and as your Excellency has failed either to persuade them to adopt a more reasonable attitude or to come to meet my commissioners yourself, I have no alternative but to transfer the place of negotiations to some more suitable spot, of which I will apprise you later, and where it is my hope that they may be resumed. And, as your Excellency states that the Tibetan passes are guarded by soldiers, I have been compelled to take measures to ensure the safety of my commissioners in moving from Khamba Jong, and to prevent any possible interruption of communication with them.

In view that the Mission was now about to make so important an advance into Tibet, it was decided to frame the new Commission somewhat differently. Colonel Younghusband was to have superior powers and to stand alone as *British Commissioner for Tibetan Frontier Matters* with Captain O'Connor as his secretary and right-hand adviser. There were also to be *Assistants to the Commissioner* : these being Mr. Claude White, Mr. E. C. Wilton, and Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, the last-named gentleman a member of the Indian Civil Service acquainted with the Tibetan language.

It was, however, the scale of the military forces which were to escort and support the Mission which gave character to the present plan. Some 2,500 troops, British as well as Indian, were to accompany and back up the political gentlemen. These forces included Artillery, Sappers and Miners, Native Infantry, a detachment of the Norfolk Regiment and a body of trained Mounted Infantry. The whole of these troops were to be under the command of Colonel J. R. L. Macdonald, R.E., C.B., given the temporary rank of Brigadier-General. Other officers (including those who joined later in the campaign) were : Colonel A. F. Hogge, Colonel Brander, Major H. A. Iggulden, Majors J. M. Stewart, Row, H. St. G. Thomas, and W. Dunlop, Captains E. R. Boileau, Tizard, Ross, J. O'B. Minogue, H. L. Anderson, Lieut. B. H. Bignell (A.-D.-C. to Brig.-General Macdonald), Lieuts. Wigram, Manson, A. L. Hadow, etc., etc. The leading regiments of Native Infantry employed were the 23rd and the 32nd Sikh Pioneers and the 8th Gurkhas. The coolies, labourers, and others had to be so large a body for the stupendous operations involved in the Transport and Supply departments that the camp-followers who passed over into the Chhumbi Valley, and who are still either there or on the Tibetan steppes, are estimated as nearly 6,000 persons. A great number of these are Baltis (gigantic of stature), Ladakis, and Garhwalis, all from the Western Himalayas. And these latter, as well as the troops, have themselves to be provided

with the necessaries of life. Major G. H. Bretherton was the officer placed over the whole Transport Service, Captain J. A. Bliss was constituted commandant of the *Pack Bullock Corps*; while Capt. Elliott and many other officers were engaged in various ways in the Supply and Commissariat arrangements.

While these preparations for a new start were being made, there occurred on November 17th the memorable interview in London between the Marquess of Lansdowne and the Russian Ambassador; and at the firm and outspoken attitude of the former during the interview, all Englishmen felt pleased. "I expressed," Lord Lansdowne relates in his despatch, "my great surprise at the excitement which the announcement seemed to have created. I had, I said, already pointed out to His Excellency that Tibet was, on the one hand, in close geographical connection with India, and, on the other, far remote from any of Russia's Asiatic possessions. Our interest in Tibetan affairs was therefore wholly different from any which Russia could have in them. I reminded Count Beckendorff that I had already explained to him that we had received the greatest provocation at the hands of the Tibetans, who had not only failed to fulfil their Treaty obligations, but had virtually refused to negotiate with us. They had even gone the length of returning the letters which we had addressed to the authorities at Lhása, and more lately they had seized and, as we believed, barbarously put to death two British subjects, and had also carried off the transport animals

which had been provided for the use of the Commission. We had always been reluctant to entangle ourselves in quarrels with the Tibetans, but our forbearance had, I was afraid, led them to believe that we could be ill-treated with impunity. I was firmly convinced that the Russian Government would not have shown as much patience as we had, and that they would have been at Lhása by this time. I felt bound to add that it seemed to me beyond measure strange that these protests should be made by the Government of a Power which had, all over the world, never hesitated to encroach upon its neighbours when the circumstances seemed to require it. If the Russian Government had a right to complain of us for taking steps in order to obtain reparation from the Tibetans by advancing into Tibetan territory, what kind of language should we not be entitled to use in regard to Russian encroachments in Manchuria, Turkestan and Persia. Count Beckendorff asked me whether I had any objection to his saying that we had approved of the advance into Tibetan territory with reluctance, and only because circumstances had made it inevitable, and that our sole object was to obtain satisfaction for the affronts which we had received from the Tibetans. I said that I had no objection to his making such a statement."

On December 13th, 1903, the British Commissioner, escorted by the main body of troops, crossed from Sikkim by the Jelep La and descended the then precarious pathway into the Chhumbi Valley, the

wedge of Tibetan territory separating Bhutan from Sikkim. At Yatong, six miles below the Pass, stood the barrier wall and gate where the guard to prevent access into Tibet has been placed for the past ten years. A few words only were uttered to the guard and, in as few minutes, this prodigious host of intruders—of serried ranks of soldiers on foot, of mounted warriors, of grave civilians, of heterogeneous burden-bearers, of riff-raff and camp-followers—was streaming through the narrow opening in the barrier-wall. Then, a mile-and-a-quarter beyond, within a flat space half enclosed in a sharp southward bend of the river, the first great camp was pitched on genuine Tibetan territory at Rinchhengong.

A few days ; and it may be said the whole of the vast and picturesque valley of the Amo Chhu, otherwise the Chhumbi Valley, was voluntarily yielded up by its Tibetan inhabitants to British occupation. These fertile regions, which had long been forbidden ground to British subjects but which geographically ought never to have belonged to Tibet, now almost insensibly and without a shot or a murmur seemed to pass under the orders of the Government of India. Rare profits the happy folk of the valley made of their hay and other fodder, of their sheep and yaks and of 300 mules they had. Roads and telegraph lines were forthwith planned and started ; while surveyors began their plane-table and theodolite work in all directions. Soon Messrs. Madan, of Calcutta, appeared on the scene, opening a grocer's store. Mr. E. H. C.

Walsh, of the Indian Civil Service, political officer with the Mission, was at once constituted practically collector of this new district—a district which, it may be hoped, will soon become legally British territory.

Early in January it was written of the life here in Chhumbi : “The sun only rests on the camp of the Mission for six hours in the day. There is a precipitous watercourse frozen to a ladder of ice. Milk, ink, everything in camp is frozen. The officers are clad in yellow Cashmere poshteens, black woollen caps with flaps meeting under the chin, and yellow Gilgit boots lined with wool. Nobody shaves. Length of service with the Mission is instantly recognised by length of beard. With all its discomforts the climate is eminently healthy and bracing.”

In the meantime, after some preliminary reconnaissance, General Macdonald with an advance party of the escort, leaving “the Mission” and the main camp at Rinchhengong, started north for Phari Jong. The way thither, which lies mostly on one side or the other of the river and which is ever ascending, passes through and up several deep and narrow gorges, one of which is compared to the Khyber but much narrower. This last steep defile occurs just north of an open grassy plain known as Lingma-t’ang ; and here, if the poor Tibetans had been anything of strategists, a very small band could have kept at bay the British advance. On December 20th, General Macdonald and his Gurkhas reached Phari, a town of some 3,500 persons with an old and large fort built of stone quarried from

the neighbouring hills. This *jong* or fort was at once arranged to shelter British officers jointly with the Tibetan officials. Nevertheless, comprising as it did a vast series of buildings in part 5 storeys high, lined with the filth of 150 years in its rambling interior, it was needful first to purge it thoroughly of its vermin and dirt. It took 70 coolies a fortnight of cleansing operations to make any approach towards rendering it decent and habitable.

Phari fort is still utilized as barracks (in part) and as officers' quarters. Here the health of the garrison is good and, through its freedom from pneumonia, there have been very few deaths among the Indian troops and followers. A writer in the *Statesman* has recently given an account of the scene at Phari and of life in the fort. He says (in the issue of March 22nd) :—

I looked down from the roof this morning on Phari town lying like a rabbit warren beneath the fort. All one can see from the battlements are the flat roofs of low black houses, from which smoke issues in dense fumes. The roofs are stacked with straw and connected by a web of coloured praying flags running from house to house, and sometimes over the narrow alleys that serve as streets. Enormous fat ravens perch on the walls and innumerable flocks of twittering sparrows. For warmth's sake most of the rooms are under-ground, and in these subterranean dens Tibetans, black as coal heavers, huddle together with yaks and mules. Tibetan women, equally dirty, go about, their faces smeared and blotched with caoutchouc, wearing a red hooplike head-dress ornamented with alternate turquoises and ruby-coloured stones. In the fort the first thing one meets of a morning is a troop of these grimy sirens, climbing the stairs, burdened with buckets of chopped ice and sacks

of yak dung, the two necessaries of life. The Tibetan coolie women are merry folk ; they laugh and chatter over their work all day long and do not in the least resist the familiarities of the Gurkha soldiers. Sometimes as they pass one they giggle cooly, and put out the tongue, which is their way of showing respect to those in high places; but when one hears their laughter echoing down the stairs, it is difficult to believe that it is not intended for saucy impudence. Their merriment sounds unnatural in all their filth and cold and discomfort. Certainly if Bogle returned to Phari, he would find the women very much bolder, though, I am afraid, not any cleaner. Could he see the Englishmen in Phari to-day, he might not recognise his compatriots. Often in civilized places I shall think of the group at Phari in the mess-room after dinner—a group of ruffianly-looking bandits in a blackened smut-begrimed room; clad in wool and fur from head to foot, bearded like wild men of the woods, and sitting round a yak-dung fire drinking rum. After a week at Phari the best-groomed man might qualify for a caricature of Bill Sikes.

Nine miles north from Phari, the main chain of the Himalayas, there sunk to only 15,700 feet, is crossed by the Tang La, which gives admission to the general series of shallow valleys known as “the Tibetan plateau.” This Pass is of gradual and, therefore, easy ascent ; the chief feature of the journey thither from Phari being the great Chomolhari mountain with its attendant peaks (the incarnations of the goddess Dolma and her branch emanations, as they are held to be) towering up to the right on the north-eastern apex of Bhutan. On the route from Phari to Tang La is only one lengthy defile, and at the so-called head of the Pass is a ruined and abandoned fort.

The route having been previously explored by General Macdonald, the head-quarters of the Sikkim-

Tibet Mission moved forward from Phari Jong on January 7th, *en route* for the Tang La and Tibet Proper. Six hundred troops, including Mounted Infantry and a party of gunners with a machine-gun and a seven-pounder, accompanied Colonel Younghusband and Captain O'Connor. Arrived at the *laptse* of Tang La, they found there was little or no descent on the further or northern side, for the simple reason that the country beyond was practically as high as the Pass. Presently another minor ridge or two had to be negotiated, and thence stretched a desolate plain of gravel and sand styled *Pün-sum T'ang* "the plain of the three brothers." A journey of 9 miles or more over this plain brought the large body of travellers to the miserable hamlet and posting-station of Tüna. It must, indeed, have been an astounding spectacle to the 20 or 30 inhabitants of this lonely and wind-swept place, at the sudden arrival of that large body of well-equipped troops.

TUNA (spelt in Tib. *Dusna*) is situated in a flat-bottomed sterile valley with a few springs and wells supplied from low adjacent hills. It is 58 miles from Rinchhengong and 75 miles south of Gyangtse. A large lake lies 8 miles to the east, on which Captain Turner records in 1781 that he skated. The Europeans of the Mission settled down for a long stay at Tüna, entrenched in a strong position within a walled enclosure containing some houses and a well; and as escort was left with them four companies of the 23rd Pioneers, a machine-gun section of the Norfolk Regiment, 20

Madras Sappers, with medical and supply detachments, some 600 mules being included with the latter. There were several Maxim and seven-pounder guns afterwards sent up. Colonel A. F. Hogge commanded the troops. The Europeans presently found it impossible to live in the dirty Tibetan houses, and, in spite of intense frost and bitter winds, moved into tents.

A tri-weekly post escorted by Mounted Infantry was established between the Chhumbi camp, Phari, and Tüna. But one of the happiest thoughts of the Transport Department was to bring up, even to the Tibetan tablelands, from India a considerable number of a light two-wheeled cart known as the *ekka*. It is drawn by one horse, has a small platform with a hollow cage of wood below and an awning or wooden frame above. These *ekkas* were, without much difficulty, conveyed in pieces through the gorges and over the Passes. Presently large consignments were purchased in the Punjab and forwarded, 1,200 miles and more, into Chhumbi and so up to Phari and Tüna. Some 800 *ekkas* are now in Tibet. A great novelty must these swift-trotting vehicles have been to the Tibetans ; for they were and are the first conveyances on wheels ever used or seen on the plains of Tibet. In fact, in Lhása no persons, save five special notabilities, may travel in any conveyances ; and these five—the Dalai Lama, the Regent, the two Chinese Ambans, and the lady abbess of Samding Monastery—travel in sedan chairs slung on poles and carried by coolies. In other parts of Tibet high-class Chinese

mandarins, such as "Mr. Ho," also use the sedan chair.

Hardly a week had passed from the establishment of this advance camp when it was found that Tibetans of miscellaneous assortment were being massed in large bands at a place called GURU, some 6 miles further north on the Gyangtse track. Rumours differed as to their exact character; but it was soon known that they comprised in part about 1,000 irregular soldiery armed with old matchlocks and a few modern rifles, and, in many instances, with bows-and-arrows. There were also a considerable body of monks of a swaggering and low class. There was much exaggeration in the earlier telegrams describing the numbers and quality of this rowdy assemblage; and it was even asserted that they possessed heavy guns which could carry a distance equivalent to a day's march. Reconnoitring parties from Tüna visited the Tibetan camp and its true mob-like character was revealed, though the numbers have been variously estimated at from 1,700 to 3,000.

Ultimately negotiations were opened out between Colonel Younghusband and the chief military officer at Guru described as a *Depön* or "general" from Lhása, but whether he was their old cannibal-hearted friend of Kamba Jong is not stated. On Jan. 17th, eight Tibetan officials with 600 horsemen approached our camp from Guru and halted about two miles off, apparently afraid. Captain O'Connor with a small escort went out to meet them and spoke with the

officials who then rode away accompanied with the horsemen, the latter of whom were seen to be armed with bows and matchlocks. The Lhása General next interviewed Colonel Younghusband, reiterating the old roundelay that no negotiations could be arranged for until the entire British party withdrew to Yatong. This interview was the result of an ultimatum issued by Colonel Younghusband on Jan. 25th. The Commissioner reported the matter to the Home authorities in the following terms

He, that is, the Tibetan General, stated that though he was most anxious to effect a settlement amicably, it was necessary for the Mission first to return to Yatong. In reply to this, I said that I must give him a friendly warning that the time for talk like this had passed; that the Mission so far from going back intended to go forward, and that I would ask him to urge upon his Government the advisability of taking a more serious view of the situation. The General replied that there would be trouble if the Mission went forward, and that he himself was unable to make any report to his Government except from Yatong. I informed him that though we, too, were anxious to effect a settlement without trouble if possible, yet that we were not afraid of trouble.

The Depon seems just then to have been a pleasanter man to deal with than the lamas, and eventually in February, 1904, he went down the Chhumbi valley and over the Jelep Pass to Gantok in Sikkim there to hold a palaver with Mr. White. As to the lamas, their attitude grew exceedingly insolent towards both Colonel Younghusband and Captain O'Connor. On Jan. 23rd the former telegraphed: "I learnt from Captain Parr, who is of opinion that the Tibetans mean to make a stand at Kalatso, that the Dalai Lama

has informed the Amban that the Tibetans intend to fight, and, further, that he does not intend to give the Amban an opportunity of selling Tibet to the British. Captain Parr also states that the Amban has been prevented from proceeding to meet me by the Tibetans." Again, Brig-General Macdonald wired on the 27th inst. from Chhumbi: "I learn from information received from Thuna that reinforcements, consisting of cavalry, infantry and a few guns, have reached the Tibetans at Guru, who are threatening trouble if the escort and the Mission refuse to withdraw. This news is corroborated by bazaar rumours from Phari. It is possible that before long an attack may be made upon the Mission."

However, all these alarms soon passed away. The Tibetans made no attack. Large bodies of them, indeed, from time to time approached the British encampment deployed in long lines on either side. But it was soon ascertained that this was not a manoeuvre in battle array; it was only the poor warriors engaged in the unwarlike operation of collecting every scrap to be had on these inhospitable plains of yak dung for fuel. Thus the situation continued for actually two months longer; and throughout February and March little that was new politically was reported to the public. However, by the end of March the aggregate of the British forces was increased to 3,500 troops; the latest addition to the forces being a Second Company of Mounted Infantry, commanded by Captain Peterson, which had been raised from the Guides and the 5th and 24th Punjab Infantry.

After this fashion did the Mission and its attendant forces remain patiently at the occupied posts for some two and a half months. The inactivity, however, so hard to bear by the rank and file and by all outside the game of politics in progress, was in reality only apparent. Preparations for an advance in spring were being pushed all the time ; and, when completed, there was a sudden awakening.

General Macdonald had his arrangements in perfect trim when the right moment for action had arrived. On March 28th, he appeared on the arena with his flying column consisting of two companies of mounted infantry and other details over 1,100 strong, armed with rifles and carrying four small cannon and two Maxim guns. They rode in gallant form into Tüna ; and on the 31st inst., at 8 A.M., they escorted forth the British Commissioner and his staff, now at length about to make a real forward move—actually bound for the Tibetan town and stronghold of Gyangtse, where no European had set foot since the year 1811.

Colonel Younghusband and the other political gentlemen, in support of their peaceful protestations we presume, were ostentatiously unarmed, even though their escort bristled with accoutrements of war. But on this bright 31st of March 1904, as they all rode forward cheerily, few could have thought that the implements of battle would be more than looked at that morning. However, the ignorance and religious gallantry of the lumpish Tibetan had not then been

properly gauged. He proved in very many instances far more heroic than he looked.

During the night snow had been spreading a white velvet carpet, of the thickest pile, beautiful to look upon, for the gay pageant to march across. The plain lay spotless around; and the encircling mountains stood about, draped in snowy mantles of dazzling purity. When some 3 or 4 miles had been traversed and the hot springs were close by, the Depon or Lhása general with his attendants was seen to be approaching, and a halt was called in order that Colonel Younghusband might hear what he had to say. It was nothing new—the old request to go back to Yatong. The Commissioner informed him that we did not wish to fight, but after three months of fruitless negotiation they were now determined to press on to Gyangtse. During the palaver a large mob of Tibetan soldiers and peasants with certain truculent-looking monks from Lhása had come up and were massing about a temporary wall they had built across the road. Although the Depon with his attendants rode away behind a block-house some 100 yards distant, protesting he did not wish to molest the British troops; the main crowd remained near. We must now quote from an account of the affair written by a correspondent who was present and contributed by him to several Indian newspapers:—"Colonel Younghusband next asked General Macdonald to move the Tibetan soldiers who were lining the sangurs and block-house

in front out of the way, if possible without firing. Our troops then deployed, altogether outflanking the Tibetan position, which was partly on a bare ridge overhanging the road, and partly on the road, across which they had built a wall. The Tibetans on the top of the ridge retired to the cover of the wall below, but the remainder held their ground till the two forces were actually face to face on the opposite sides of the wall. In the meanwhile the right and left flanks of our deployment had closed round the wall, with the result that the Tibetans, numbering about fifteen hundred, were within a circle of Indian troops. The whole affair had been so quietly and effectively managed that it might have been compared to the herding of sheep. The members of the Mission, Press correspondents, and the General Staff rode up to inspect the capture, and were laughing and talking, all unaware of the terrible tragedy impending."

Behind the blockhouse, which was not yet included within the ring of Sikh troops, was the Depon or Lhása general in a state of silly desperation, not knowing how to act and ready for any foolish impulse which might present itself. Here, too, were other officials from Lhása; and, all about, the mob surging between the wall and the blockhouse. At this time the Tibetan rear was perfectly open, and they could have marched away had they liked; but the mob stood together in front of the Depon discontented and angry, and muttering threats. Their

attitude was sufficiently hostile to induce General Macdonald to order up two more companies of Pioneers, with fixed bayonets.

Suddenly a scuffle began in the north-eastern corner of the ring. Some Tibetans shook their fists in the faces of the Sikhs and began throwing stones. The Lhása Depon himself fired the first shot, blowing away a Sikh's jaw. Instantly there was a great tumult, the Tibetans uttered a wild shout, drew their swords, fired their matchlocks, and surged forward in all directions. About a dozen swordsmen made a desperate rush in the direction of General Macdonald and the small knot of officers. Major Wallace Dunlop had two fingers slashed off, one of his assailants being shot down by Lieutenant Bignell. Four Tibetans made for Mr. Candler, a Press correspondent, who was unarmed. He received no less than twelve wounds, but General Macdonald, with a rifle, himself shot one man down at a few yards' distance; Lieutenant Davys, a medical officer, killed two others; and Mr. Candler was saved from death. Other Tibetans rushing forward were met by revolver fire.

"In the meanwhile the Sikhs in front had drawn back a few yards and met the Tibetans trying to climb over the wall with a terrible magazine fire; four or five of the enemy actually climbed the wall and died like heroes. One old man armed only with a matchlock, sprang over heaps of dead, and deliberately kneeling down well in advance of the others fired into the Sikhs. He was riddled with bullets.

but the Tibetans were so huddled together that the majority were unable either to use their swords or to fire. Many probably killed each other in their mad excitement.

“Finally the mob surged to the rear, breaking through the ring of Sikhs, and then followed a scene even more impressive and awful than the fight in the cockpit. The Tibetans, though their retreat was now open, disdained to scatter and run. They tramped away slowly, steadily, sullenly, solemnly, followed by a perfect hail of bullets. The mountain Battery came into action and tore their line with shrapnel; a terrible trail of dead and dying marked their line of march. Finally the last wounded and limping man turned the corner about four hundred yards away, and the grim tragedy was over. The whole affair did not occupy ten minutes, but in that short time the flower of the Tibetan army perished.

“The Depon with the whole of his personal escort, and five high Lhása officials were killed. Our small losses are accounted for by the fact that the Tibetan swordsmen in the front rank could not reach the Sikhs with their fixed bayonets, while the men in the middle of the mob were unable to use any weapons, but they all died gamely. All who saw the scene will carry for ever the impression of grim determined faces lighted with devildom and savagery.”

After a short halt the troops moved on to Guru. When nearing the Tibetan camp the force was fired on and another action took place, in which the artil-

lery played the largest share. The Tibetans finally fled over the hills in long black strings, though fifty or sixty obstinately held on to the village, which was finally very gallantly taken by the Mounted Infantry and the 8th Gurkhas. The latter made a splendid rush with the bayonet.

The majority of the troops returned to Tüna in the evening after a very long day. The two companies of Mounted Infantry, one of Muzbl Sikhs, the other chiefly of Pathans, who behaved generally, until let go, with much patience, were under Captain C. H. Peterson and Captain W. J. Ottley respectively. It is significant that three of the rifles found on dead Tibetans were observed to be of Russian Government make.

After a halt at Guru of three days, the Commissioner, escorted by the flying column, again made a real start for Gyangtse on April 4th. At Samando, 35 miles ahead, Captain Peterson with his company had a skirmish with some Tibetans posted behind a wall, the latter having first called to our men to approach and then firing into them with shouts but hitting no one. However, during the march, the severity of the weather was far more arduous and harassing than the Tibetan opposition. Several times the camp had to be pitched in a snow storm; and when the order to march was given in the early morning the cold on rising was almost intolerable. All the Indian troops, nevertheless, bore these hardships unmurmuringly; but two followers died from the intense cold. The track lay through interesting and

unknown country, the altitude gradually descending. Two great lakes swarming with wild fowl were skirted. After the lakes the path runs through a succession of deep valleys, the hills on each side entirely precluding any view. On April 9th at nightfall Khangmar, a considerable village, was reached. The next day at 3½ miles beyond Khangmar some hot springs of geyser character were passed, and a few miles further on a long and deep gorge with an ascending path along its bottom had to be entered. Here a serious brush with the enemy occurred, which was chiefly remarkable for the physical conditions under which it was fought.

The night before, the scouts of the Mounted infantry under Captain Peterson forging ahead had been fired on from a ridge near this gorge. This morning, on the troops entering the approach to the ravine, the transport being 1,000 yards to the rear, they found that the Tibetans had posted some 16 or 17 leathern cannon jingals on a protruding ridge. No sooner were the troops in view than a continuous fire was opened from the ridge, but all the missiles fell short. General Macdonald decided to send the Gurkhas up a very steep mountain on the left to outflank the position. The Sikhs kept to the valley, and the mountain guns came into action on the ridge on the right. For twenty minutes an artillery duel was kept up, and then a great snow cloud swept over the hills, hiding the enemy and the Gurkhas from view. It became intensely cold, and the troops and followers lighted scrub fires to warm themselves. Meanwhile

the Tibetans kept on firing through the clouds. The snowstorm lasted about an hour, and when the clouds cleared it was found that the Gurkhas were still distant from the enemy's position, and as the Tibetan fire was perfectly harmless, General Macdonald decided to send the Mounted Infantry through the gorge to reconnoitre. They came back with the information that there was a second position behind the first, with a lot more of the enemy with jingals behind rocks. The Sikhs then advanced on this position, but could not scale the rocks. They marched through the gorge, the Tibetans firing furiously all the while, and finally found themselves in a fairly-open valley beyond the enemy's position. The Tibetans could then be seen running about the rocks, descending into the valleys with leaps in great fright. The Mounted Infantry pursued them, killing many, and they could have killed more, but the officers restrained their men. Meanwhile the Gurkhas, on reaching, the top of the mountain, found large numbers of Tibetans hiding in caves in great terror. These were called out and reassured. They were mere followers and were told to break their swords and matchlocks, which they did with manifest delight, dancing and jumping on them with pleasure. They were brought down into camp as prisoners. They explained that they were peasants who did not want to fight, but were forced by the lamas, who threatened to burn down their villages.

On April 11th the Commissioner with his military escort and the camp-followers reached Gyangtse. The denizens of the town made no opposition to the entry of the new-comers who at once marched to the famous fortress in the place and took possession of it. This fort is described as being built upon a gigantic rock rising out of the plain or broad valley and as recalling Edinburgh Castle in appearance. General Macdonald seems forthwith to have taken steps to dismantle it, blowing away the gateways and destroying certain towers and turrets. The great monastery of Palkhor Chhoide was also visited, and the abbot informed that the monks would be left in peace provided they did not join the fighters. However, as these ecclesiastics were known to have taken part in the encounter outside Gyangtse, a heavy fine of grain would now be imposed upon them. Later, on submissive and friendly representations being made by the Táshi Lama from Shigatse, this fine was reduced one half.

The Mission and a portion of the troops are, as we write, now encamped at Gyangtse. The peasantry and traders appear to welcome the intruders ; and large supplies of food and fodder are being brought in for sale from the villages in this productive valley. With the arrival at Gyangtse, our annals of the campaign must cease. Exciting events are doubtless yet in store. Already news comes in of severe fighting between the Mounted Infantry, who have been reconnoitring as far east as the Kharu La, not far

from Lake Yamdok, and levies raised by the lamas in Kongpo and Khams. One officer, Captain Bethune, who had been in Tibet since the Kamba Jong Mission, and a few of our men have already had to pay tribute with their lives to the Tibetan guns.

Gyangtse is 75 miles from Tüna ; and the great question has been, and is, the arrangement for the maintenance of supplies to so large a body as the Mission and its escort the further they advance into the interior. The huge gang of *ekkas* now on the Tibetan plateau must be of inestimable service, as affording wheeled transport. Hitherto the difficulties have been immense ; the chief trouble having been the traction by beasts of burden only. The heavy snow and severe weather generally which set in in March harassed the transport service only too naturally. Here is an example. Two Companies of the 23rd Pioneers and the 12th Mule Corps were overtaken by a blizzard when escorting a convoy from Phari to Tüna. They camped in two feet of snow with the thermometer 24 below zero. A driving hurricane made it impossible to light a fire or cook food. The sepoy and followers went without food for 36 hours, while the mules' fodder was buried deep in snow. In crossing a frozen stream the mules fell through the ice, and were extricated with difficulty. The drivers arrived at Tüna frozen to the waist. Twenty men of the 12th Mule Corps were frost-bitten and thirty men of the 23rd were incapacitated and carried in on mules. The same day there were seventy

cases of snow-blindness among 120 men of the 8th Gurkhas who were working on the road between Kam-parab and Tüna.

We have already alluded to the Yak Corps, and have intimated that it proved a failure. On March 21st, 80 yaks arrived at Chhumbi from Sikkim in an exhausted condition. They were the sole remnants of the first and second Yak Corps purchased from the Nepal Durbar which originally numbered as many as 2,300. When the 3rd Yak Corps reached Chhumbi, on January 23rd, it numbered 437, but pleuro-pneumonia carried off all but 70. Of the 4,000 odd yaks originally purchased only 150 remain, and not one has done a day's work. They were first decimated by anthrax, which spread almost universally among the cattle owing to the infected drinking water in Nepal, the natives taking no precautions, being incredulous that the disease was contagious. Rinderpest next set in, but was successfully stamped out after the loss of only 70. Foot-and-mouth disease followed. Hundreds died from heat in the low valleys of Sikkim which are often hotbeds of contagious cattle disease. The herds were segregated for weeks and had to be driven through unfrequented trackless country to avoid spreading contagion. The dead cattle were burnt, 20 or 30 at a time. The officers who reached Chhumbi with the remnants of the Yak Corps, after months of wandering, told a story of hardship and endurance that would provide them, says one press correspondent, with material for an epic.

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